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ABSTRACT

The significance of authors' reading notes may lie not only in their mechanical function as information storage devices providing raw materials for writing, but also in their ability to concentrate and to mobilize the latent emotional and creative resources of their keepers. This document examines records of reading found in the published notebooks of eight major British and United States writers of the sixteenth through twentieth centuries. Through comparison of their note-taking practices, the following topics are explored: how each author came to make reading notes, the form in which notes were made, and the writers' habits of consulting and using their notes (with special reference to distinctly literary uses). The eight writers whose notebooks are examined in depth are Francis Bacon, John Milton, Samuel Coleridge, Ralph W. Emerson, Henry D. Thoreau, Mark Twain, Thomas Hardy, and Thomas Wolfe. The trends that emerge from these eight case studies are discussed, and an extensive bibliography of published notebooks is included. (CC)

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

READING RECORDS OF LITERARY AUTHORS:
A COMPARISON OF SOME PUBLISHED NOTEBOOKS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE LIBRARY SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

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With gratitude for his unflagging interest,
I respectfully dedicate this thesis to
James Hebda.

> The habit of journalizing becomes a life-long lesson in the art of composition, an informal schooling for authorship. And were the process of preparing their works for publication faithfully detailed by distinguished writers, it would appear how large were their indebtedness to their diary and commonplaces. How carefully should we peruse Shakespeare's notes used in compiling his plays--what was his, what another's--showing how these were fashioned into the shapely whole we read, how Milton composed, Montaigne, Goethe: by what happy strokes of thought, flashes of wit, apt figures, fit quotations snatched from vast fields of learning, their rich pages were wrought forth! This were to give the keys of great authorship!
>
> Amos Bronson Alcott, Table-Talk of A. Bronson Alcott, (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1877), p. 12.

ABSTRACT

Given their prevalence and usefulness, it is surprising that historical and comparative knowledge about personal records is primitive and unsystematic. Yet personal records do present certain obstacles to research; since they are usually not created in distinct "genres," their overlapping forms and functions make them difficult to categorize for study. One convenient way to begin a general investigation of them is to focus on published specimens. "Notebooks" of literary authors, many of which have been transcribed, edited, and published, present an inviting body of such material.

This exploratory thesis focuses on records of reading left in the notebooks of eight major British and American writers of the last four centuries. In a comparison of their note-taking practices, the thesis explains how each author came to make reading notes, describes the form in which he made them, and discusses his habits of consulting and using them, with special reference to distinctly literary uses. Where possible, additional evidence is introduced to show how certain features of a particular notebook reflect wider practices among authors.

Eight case studies comprise the major portion of the thesis, and they are summarized here. The "Promus" of Francis Bacon was a rough list of elegant and useful phrases gleaned from reading and conversation that Bacon used as a source book

in writing and probably also as a promptbook for oral practice in public speaking. John Milton kept scholarly notes from his reading in his commonplace book, complete with page citations to use in writing his tracts and poems. The commonplace tradition in which Milton was educated had its roots in the pedagogy of classical rhetoric and "commonplacing" persisted as a popular study technique until the early twentieth century. Samuel Taylor Coleridge wrote in all-purpose notebooks, mixing evocative lines from his reading and original passages of prose and poetry with personal and household memoranda. Ralph Waldo Emerson filled several shelves with thoroughly-indexed notebooks containing quotations (drawn from books, letters and conversation), original aphorisms, and early drafts of his works. Henry David Thoreau copied Emerson's methods until a different drummer summoned him to his own method of journalizing: that of writing short prose commentaries on works he read. Mark Twain, whose early notes contain memoranda from his piloting apprenticeship, made utilitarian reading notes before his travels and while doing background research for the writing of his books. Thomas Hardy kept carefully edited and much studied reading notes as an autodidactic strategy, successfully changing his image as a benign novelist of bucolic life to that of a more serious writer with philosophical points to make. Lastly, Thomas Wolfe, assimilating his culture in deep draughts, made reading notes in answer to a gnawing urge to salvage everything possible from the resources of libraries and bookshops.

While it is impossible to make firm generalizations based on only eight cases, certain trends do emerge from them. First, it seems that authors frequently learn about the use and value of note-making in school, but that they later adapt the methods they learn there to fit their own styles of work. They are often inspired to begin or to resume the keeping of notebooks by learning of admired friends or of other authors who keep them. The codex form of the blankbook imposes a rudimentary level of organization on written material that makes it an attractive, pre-configured writing surface on which to record notes. Depending on the purposes and preferred working methods of the individual keeper, reading notes take different forms, ranging from simple lists of titles, to extracts and verbatim quotations (of whatever length), to paraphrases, outlines or summaries, to original commentaries on what has been read. They can serve numerous functions: as aids to concentration and recollection, as garners of material to be used later in writing, as workbooks for the study of ideas or style, as albums of literary gleanings for future reflection or entertainment, or even as devices for recreating subjective emotional experiences brought on by reading.

Since keeping notebooks is itself a kind of tradition among litterateurs, a notebook of literary memoranda may serve as a symbol to the keeper of his literary identity (or something psychologically not far-removed), quite apart from its obvious value as a record. That personal notebooks can enjoy this special status is supported by the fact that authors frequently treat their notebooks as quasi-works, giving them elaborate titles, compiling them neatly from rough notes, recompiling still neater revisions of them later, and preserving them with a special devotion and care that seems out of proportion to their apparent function as working materials.

CHAPTER I

READING RECORDS AS AN OBJECT OF STUDY

> . . . [L]et us take down one of those old notebooks which we have all, at one time or another, had a passion for beginning. Most of the pages are blank, it is true; but at the beginning we shall find a certain number very beautifully covered with a strikingly legible hand-writing. Here we have written down the names of great writers in their order of merit; here we have copied out fine passages from the classics; here are lists of books to be read; and here, most interesting of all, lists of books that have actually been read, as the reader testifies with some youthful vanity by a dash of red ink.
>
> Virginia Woolf[1]

The State of Public Knowledge About Personal Record Keeping

The sorts of published documents that are typically organized and stored in libraries represent only some of the kinds of records created by human beings. Another important class of records, and the one of interest here, is personal records. Documents of this kind are prepared by individuals for private reasons. In some aspects of format, organization, and content, they may sometimes resemble certain genres of published works, but their uniqueness and "acknowledged (intentional) subjective orientation in scope, methodology, and utilization"[1] usually limits their public usefulness. Consequently, personal records kept in libraries are usually set apart from other library holdings where they are consulted and studied only for research purposes.

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[1] Virginia Woolf, "Hours in a Library," *Granite and Rainbow: Essays by Virginia Woolf* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1958), p. 25.

Within the private sphere, however, personal records are probably the most useful ones of all.[2] The practice of gathering, organizing, and storing coded information for one's own use (actually a learned cluster of practices) has a great impact on daily living, on creative endeavor, and on intellectual affairs. In literate societies, personal records pervade human activity on many levels but, despite their obvious importance, comparative and historical knowledge about them is surprisingly primitive and unsystematic, especially in comparison to knowledge about published books and their history. The history of scholarship and letters, for example, has no literature describing how Aristotle wrote his treatises, how Aquinas assembled the Summa Theologica, or how Montaigne kept control over all the quotations used in his Essays.[3] Likewise, the history of education provides only the most scanty of details about the pedagogy of notetaking,[1] and social history affords not a connected account of personal record keeping through the ages but only an occasional look at some rare or peculiar practice.[2]

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[1] Hilary D. Burton, "Personal Information Systems: Implications for Libraries," Special Libraries (January 1973), p. 7.

[2] If nothing else, they make possible the production of published ones.

[3] Nor does it appear likely to develop such a literature--not, at least, based upon primary sources, which are lacking. As Jean Steinman wrote in Pascal (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965), p. 223, ". . . no original manuscripts have come down to us from antiquity or the middle ages: nothing of Shakespeare's or Rabelais's; a few corrections in Montaigne's handwriting in the margins of one of the editions of the Essays; a few of Racine's notes, but nothing of Molière's or La Bruyère's, and very little of La Fontaine's. The seventeenth century only admired finished works. It had no use for drafts, plans, correc-

Reasons why personal records and the practices associated with them have been neglected as objects of investigation by past scholarship are not difficult to guess. First, personal records are so familiar to everyone that a study of them seems trivial. Every literate person has some empirical knowledge about personal records; literate people, after all, are those who can create and interpret records. Yet, famil-

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ons, or an author's crossings-out. Manuscripts were burnt." However, descriptions of the record keeping which supported certain scholarly endeavors have emerged in recent years. The making of Johnson's dictionary, which involved huge pastebooks, is described in numerous accounts (recently, in John Wain, Samuel Johnson: A Biography [New York: Viking, 1975]), and James Murray's monumental work, compiled on two tons of paper slips, is described in K. M. Elisabeth Murray, Caught in the Web of Words: James Murray and the Oxford English Dictionary (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977). See also Edward G. Holley, Charles Evans: American Bibliographer (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), pp. 50-51, 290-91, and 215-16, for a description of Evan's file cards, cut in half and stored in corset boxes.

[1] Though it does include many studies of the efficiency of note-taking techniques.

[2] The commoner poet, John Bethume, "'wrote his poems in secret on dirty scraps of paper and old leaves of books.'" Alton Locke, quoted in Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 242. Today, one sees address books, notebooks, scrapbooks, photo albums, wedding registers, baby books, family Bibles, and diaries being sold everywhere by suppliers of stationery and one knows that such things have a history that remains to be written. The history of commercial and business records have received some study, but such treatments lack the personal emphasis that is of concern here.

iarity is in itself no argument against inquiry into a subject, since more familiar topics are often really the ones less understood. Studious research in the last generation, in particular, has broadened its scope to include many subjects that were once ignored.[1] Given the wideness of scholarly interest today, the prevalence alone of personal record keeping is itself almost an argument for attempting to study it in a systematic way.[2]

This very prevalence, in fact, underlies a second fact which might have daunted previous investigation: personal records are produced and used in such great numbers and in so many overlapping ways that even classifying all their forms and functions is a formidable task.[3] How can this vast field be broken up for study? As a beginning, statistics of the stationery trade might provide a gross picture of the relative popularity of various physical forms of records. This would divide the field by physical format. Another tactic would be to study personal records by type of user. At least two recent studies in the library literature do this; both of them investigate the way that personal records function for scholars, scientists, and other intellectuals.[1] Further research, if it is to be meaningful, must continue to focus on some small portion of all the materials that could be considered "personal records," as these studies have done.

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[1] See, for example, Ashley Montagu, The Anatomy of Swearing (New York: Macmillan, 1967); Katie Kelly, Garbage: The History and Future of Garbage in America (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1973); and Lawrence Wright, Clean and Decent: The Fascinating History of the Bathroom and the W.C. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967). See also Benjamin Walker, Encyclopedia of Esoteric Man (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977) on the history of certain obnoxious practices.

[2] There are many questions to be answered, for instance: What practical knowledge about personal records and their uses underlies product development and marketing in the stationery trade? What is the sociology of personal record keeping? How and why are various schemes of record keeping typically begun? What is their usefulness? What do various techniques show about those who use them? Is there a way to conceptualize personal record keeping on a theoretical level? etc.

[3] There is a great deal to take into account in such a classification. For example, there are both terminable and interminable records; there are enduring records of intended long-term usefulness, and also ephemeral ones intended for only temporary use (e.g., jottings on scrap paper). The integrity and autonomy of records can change as they are cut up or taken apart or attached in various combinations and arrangements to other records. Then, record keeping serves not only overt pur-

The Interest and Significance of a Study of Authors' Notebooks

Leaving archival resources aside for the moment, there are hundreds of published documents that might be called "note-

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poses, but also covert (in particular, psychological) ones as well. The testimonials of diarists, for example, show that the diary can serve not only as a retrospective record but also, in the keeping, as a surrogate confidant or alter-ego, or as an arena for self-objectivation and reification (to assist in achieving a sense of more explicit self-reference and identity). Certainly many personal records serve symbolic purposes, quite apart from their contents.

[1] Burton investigated the implications for libraries of "personal documentation" (synonymous with "microdocumentation"), "the acquisition, storage, classification and/or retrieval of information by an individual for himself"--here, specifically, the preparation and use of personal indexes to scientific literature. More recently, Mary Ellen Soper in "Characteristics and Use of Personal Collections," _Library Quarterly_ 46 (October 1976), pp. 397-415, based on her Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, 1972, "The Relationship Between Personal Collections and the Selection of Cited References," studied "personal collections" (personal accumulations of published materials in the form of books, journal issues, preprints, and photocopies) to find trends in the scholarly citation of personal copies (versus institutionally-owned ones) of research-related documents.

books" of "literary authors." Both of these terms should be clarified here. First, "notebooks" means personally-owned, handwritten manuscripts, prepared or preserved in a codex form consisting of one or more fascicles each. In them, information is recorded episodically for continuing reference. They are begun on one's own initiative, not being records that are necessary for an occupation (such as accounting) or a technical profession (such as scholarly research or law). This is to say that they contain material accumulated as a result of private, versus public, activity. They are not themselves intended for publication, and even though they may exist separately and autonomously from other written material, they lack the polish, coherence and organic unity that one expects of true works. They are prepared for personal reasons, as, for example, to serve as a forum for self-communing, emotional catharsis, or artistic creativity, to aid in self-cultivation and learning, or to provide reference and reminder about ideas, facts, and the like, to be developed or used later in thought, writing, or action. Second, "literary authors" are writers who are distinquished in prevailing critical opinion as having produced works of genuine literature.

Through the middle years of this century, readers were made familiar with authors' notebooks through comments by the authors themselves in their published writings,[1] in biographical accounts,[1] in literary imitations of notebooks,[2] and in published transcriptions of actual notebooks[3] (often condensed and abridged).[4] In more recent years, however, increased num-

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[1] Two examples by philosophical authors are Rule #4 in Descarte's Rules for the Direction of the Mind (". . . 4. All your observations and notes must be complete."), and John Locke's article, published in the second volume of the Bibliotheque

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Universelle, "New Method of Keeping a Commonplace Book," reprinted in *The Works of John Locke in Nine Volumes*, 12th ed. (London, 1824) 2:441-59. Authors have written manuals of advice that stress personal record keeping as an essential practice. Some fairly recent examples include: Arnold Bennett, *How to Live* (Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Company, 1925), who kept a journal, *The Journal of Arnold Bennett* (New York: Viking, 1932-33); Ernest Dimnet, *The Art of Thinking* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1935); and Jean Guitton, *A Student's Guide to Intellectual Work* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 1966), who also kept a journal, *The Guitton Journals, 1952-1955*, translated by Frances Forrest (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1963). Rudolf Flesch, although not a literary author like the others, produced another good example, *The Art of Clear Thinking* (New York: Collier, 1972).

[1] For example, "Bacon Begins to Write" in Catherine Drinker Bowen, *Bacon: The Temper of a Man* (Boston: Little Brown, 1963); Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: His Career as a Novelist* (New York: Random House, 1971); and Elizabeth Nowell, *Thomas Wolfe: A Biography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1973).

[2] Words such as album, clippings, fragments, gleanings, jottings, leaves from, marginalia or margins, markings, notebooks or notes, scribblings, scrapbook, and sketchbooks or sketches are familiar parts of titles that are used (often as a gesture of modesty) to characterize certain works as brief, informal, unfinished, preliminary, or inconsequential. "Diaries" and "journals" as literary vehicles are so familiar as to require no documentary proof of their existence. Many of these literary imitations are so polished, of course, as not to resemble informal records made for personal use in the least. It is worth noting, however, that more recent work with these forms shows a greater sense of nuance for personal records, and sometimes imitates the incoherencies, false starts, and crossings-out of genuine notebooks. Three examples of the last decade are Dorris Lessing, *The Golden Notebook* (New York: Bantam, 1973); James Merrill, *Diblos Notebook* (New York: Atheneum, 1975); and Jean Renoir, *The Notebooks of Captain Georges; A Novel*, translated by Norman Denny (Boston: Little Brown, 1966).

[3] An extensive and fairly early example is *Southey's Commonplace Book*, edited by his son-in-law, John Wood Warter, 4 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1850-51).

[4] "The Heart of _____'s Journals" was a favorite sugges-

bers of transcribed notebooks, ranging from a few pages in scholarly articles to multivolume sets, have appeared in generous supply. The total number of such published notebooks is difficult to estimate because the nomenclature of personal records (including that applied in titles, in explanatory matter, and within the documents themselves) varies widely and the size of an estimation will depend upon what the term "notebook" is taken to comprise.

It is interesting to note, in this regard, the variety of private records occurring in notebook form[1] which, because of their connection with persons of some prominence,[2] have

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tive title used for editions of the diaries of John Burrough, Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau, and Wesley. One well-known abridgment was *Anima Poetae, from the Unpublished Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1895). A good recent abridgment is *The Journal of John Wesley*, ed. Percy Livingstone Parker (Chicago: Moody Press, n.d.).

[1] This usually excludes correspondence, which is frequently saved as a form of personal record, either by the recipient or by the sender in some copied form (handwritten first draft, carbon copy, letterpress copy or, most recently, photocopy). Jefferson, whose own correspondence was of an enormous volume, observed: "The letters of a person, especially one whose business has been chiefly transacted by letters, form the only full and genuine journal of his life," *Jefferson Himself: The Personal Narrative of a Many-Sided American*, ed. Bernard Mayo (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972), p. 330. Lewis Carroll even kept a correspondence register, comprising over 98,000 entries (see "Eight or Nine Wise Words about Letter Writing," *The Complete Works of Lewis Carroll* (New York: Modern Library, 1936)). Letters are often published together with journals. Vast numbers of letters have been published; the current (1976) "Titles" section of *Books in Print* lists available books of letters in nine pages of small print. An entertaining and wide-ranging anthology is *The World's Great Letters*, ed. Charles Van Doren (New York: Doubleday, 1940.)

[2] Besides those of authors, the personal notes of political figures (U.S. presidents; Adlai Stevenson; Ghandi),

actually been published. Diaries and journals, the best known examples, in which keepers record and, often, reflect on the details of their lives and thoughts, have been published in the hundreds.[1] Other genres[2] include: personal financial and business records (e.g., account books, ledgers, "daybooks," and

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philosophers (Berkeley, Kierkegaard, G. E. Moore, Cardinal Newman, Nietzsche, Pascal, Wittgenstein, not to mention ancient philosophers such as Aristotle, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, and "practical" philosophers like Benjamin Franklin and William Penn), artists (Edgar Degas, Claes Oldenburg, painting; Louis I. Kahn, architecture; Martha Graham, ballet; Leonardo da Vinci), dramatists (Chekhov, Ionesco), composers (Bach, Beethoven, Stravinsky), and scientists (Einstein, Newton), have all been reproduced in published form.

[1] Two especially fine anthologies of diaries contain full bibliographic references. *A Treasury of the World's Great Diaries*, eds. Philip Dunaway and Mel Evans (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1957), contains short selections from some eighty-five diaries (unfortunately, it is out of print). A more recent compilation, *Revelations: Diaries of Women*, eds. Mary Jane Moffat and Charlotte Painter (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), produced by two feminist authors, contains excerpts from thirty-two diaries of women. Some bibliographic guides to published diaries have been prepared by William Matthews: *American Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of American Diaries Written Prior to the Year 1861* (Boston: Canner, 1959); *British Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of British Diaries Written Between 1442-1942* (London: Peter Smith, 1950); and *Canadian Diaries and Autobiographies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950).

[2] There is one set of published papers that is particularly outstanding in the variety of records it presents and the detail in which it reproduces them: *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966). Woodrow Wilson, with the aid of typewriting and shorthand (which he taught himself by studying manuals of "phonography"), produced a mountain of documents during his lifetime, most of which he saved. Besides official records, the *Papers* include personal items such as marginal notes written in books and articles; correspondence; scrapbooks; desk calendars and diaries; lists of clothes, books, and furniture used when moving; expense lists (copied into ledgers from pocket notebooks); classroom notes and drafts of undergraduate essays; research notes; notes for lectures and speeches; course syllabi used when Wilson taught at Bryn Mawr, Wesleyan, and Princeton--the list

pocket expense books;[1] academic and studious records;[2] household records;[3] personal schedules, agendas, and plans (as for

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goes on and on. Surely this comes closer than anything else ever published to being a complete personal archive!

[1] "Miscellaneous Business Memoranda" preserved in a pastebook are published selectively, along with receipt books and a "Shop Book" in The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, ed. Leonard W. Labaree (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959). See also Marvin Kitman, George Washington's Expense Account (New York: Ballantine, 1970); Mayo, pp. 18-19, 72; Fyodor Dostoevsky, The Unpublished Dostoevsky: Diaries and Notebooks (1860-81), ed. Carol F. Proffer, 3 vols. (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1973); Jefferson Davis, The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Vol. 1: 1808-1840, eds. Haskell M. Monroe and James T. McIntosh (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), pp. 3-4; "Fitzgerald's Ledger," Fitzgerald/Hemingway Annual, ed. Matthew J. Buccoli (n.p.: NCR Microcard Editions, 1971), pp. 3-31. See, too, "Lord Byron's Financial Difficulties" by William Maxwell in The New Yorker 51 (May 31, 1975):86-98.

[2] See, for example, Thoreau's grade and attendance records (weekly class reports, prayer bills, rank scales, and term books) in Thoreau's Harvard Years: Materials Introductory to New Explorations: Record of Fact and Background, ed. Kenneth Cameron (Hartford: Transcendental Books, 1966); Jefferson Davis in Conduct Reports (p. 14ff) and Merit Roll (p. 28) at West Point in Davis; Woodrow Wilson's class and lecture notes in Wilson; undergraduate notebooks and essays in Gerard Manley Hopkins, Journals and Papers, ed. Humphrey House, completed by Graham Storey (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1959); and the notes of students in Josiah Royce's Seminar, 1913-1914, as Recorded in the Notebooks of Harry T. Costello, ed. Grover Smith (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1963) and Wittgenstein: Lectures and Conversations on Aesthetics, Psychology and Religious Belief, ed. Cyril Barrett (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

[3] Wilson's inventories in the Papers; Jefferson's "Farm" and "Garden" books; and the library catalogs of Edward Gibbon, The Library of Edward Gibbon, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940), which includes a picture of Gibbon's home-made card catalog made with playing cards; and John Locke, The Library of John Locke, eds. John Harrison and Peter Lasleri (London: Oxford University Press, 1971). An interesting post-mortem inventory is that of the library of J. S. Bach, published in The Bach Reader, rev. ed., eds. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel (New York: Norton, 1966).

private studies);[1] and religious and devotional memoranda.[2] Records more distinctive to literary authors are the workbooks in which they enter ideas for writing as they come,[3] chart plans for works,[1] draft and revise works,[2] or make fair copies of final versions.[3]

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[1] William Hickling Prescott, *The Literary Memoranda of William Hickling Prescott*, ed. and intro. by C. Harvey Gardiner, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961); W. Baker, "George Eliot's Projected Napoleonic War Novel: An Unnoted Reading List," *Nineteenth Century Fiction* 29 (March 1975):453-60.

[2] A surprising example is Thomas Wolfe's "Covenant with God," written at Harvard on the approach of his twenty-first birthday in *The Notebooks of Thomas Wolfe*, eds. Richard S. Kennedy and Paschal Reeves, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970). See also Samuel Johnson, "Prayers and Meditations," *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, reprint of 1877 edition, edited by *George Birbeck Hill*, 2 vols. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966), or Samuel Johnson, *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, vol. 1: *Diaries, Prayers and Annals*, eds. E. L. McAdam with Donald Hyde and Mary Hyde (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958); Soren Kierkegaard, *Soren Kierkegaard's Journals and Papers*, ed. and trans. Howard V. Hong and Edna H. Hong, 4 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967); Peter Marshall, *Mr. Jones, Meet the Master* (New York: Revell, 1950) [sermon notes]; D. L. Moody, *Notes from My Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1975); and Marie Melanie Rouget [Marie Noël], *Notes for Myself (Notes Intimes)*, trans. Howard Sutton (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1968).

[3] See Henry James, *The Notebooks of Henry James*, eds. F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth S. Murdock (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), or Thomas Merton, *The Asian Journal of Thomas Merton*, eds. Naomi Burton, Patrick Hart, and James Laughlin (New York: New Directions, 1973), and Thomas Merton, *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966). The notebooks of Coleridge, Twain and Wolfe will all be seen to be of this type.

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[1] See P. D. Herring, "Dickens' Monthly Number Plans for Little Dorrit," Modern Philology 64 (August 1966):22-63. (Another set of plans in diagram form are Joseph Heller's plans for Catch-22 which were drawn on a large desk blotter. They are shown on the front cover of The Catch-22 Casebook, eds. Frederick Kiley and Walter McDonald (New York: Crowell, Casebook Series, 1973).) Also see John Milton, The Works of John Milton, gen. ed. Frank Allen Patterson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931-38), and especially "Outline for Tragedies," 18:228-46. Franklin, 2:9-10, compares planning one's life to outlining a piece of writing: "Those who write of the art of poetry teach us that if we would write what may be worth the reading, we ought always, before we begin, to form a regular plan and design of our piece; otherwise, we shall be in danger of incongruity. I am apt to think it is the same as to life. I have never fixed a regular design in life, by which means it has been a confused variety of different scenes. I am now entering upon a new one: let me, therefore, make some resolutions, and form some scheme of action, that, henceforth, I may live in all respects like a rational creature,"("Plan of Conduct," 1726).

[2] Samuel Butler, Samuel Butler's Notebooks, eds. Geoffrey Keynes and Brian Hill (London: Cape, 1951); Raymond Chandler, The Notebooks of Raymond Chandler, and English Summer: A Gothic Romance, preface by Frank MacShane (New York: Ecco Press, 1976); Percy Bysshe Shelley, Note Books from the Originals in the Library of W. K. Bixby, reprint of the 1911 edition, deciphered, transcribed and edited, with a full commentary, by H. Buxton Forman, 3 vols. (New York: Phaeton Press, 1968). By far the finest examples of workbooks are the notebooks of Dostoevsky, edited by Edward Wasiolek and published by the University of Chicago Press. Five notebooks have been issued so far, each tracing the compositional process behind one of Dostoevsky's novels: Crime and Punishment (1967), The Idiot (1967), The Possessed (1968), A Raw Youth (1969), and The Brothers Karamazov (1971). All the notebooks to be discussed in the next chapter (except the notes of Bacon, Milton and Hardy) will be seen to include early drafts of works.

[3] See, for instance, William Blake, The Book of Thel: A Facsimile and a Critical Text, ed. Nancy Bogen (Providence: Brown University Press, 1971); Robert Burns, Robert Burns' Commonplace Book, 1783-1785, Reproduced in Facsimile from the Poet's Manuscript, Etc. (Glasgow: Gowans and Gray, Limited, 1938); and T. S. Eliot, Wasteland: Facsimile and Transcript, ed. Valerie Eliot (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1974).

The interest that authors' notebooks, in particular, hold for readers may work on several levels. There is, of course, value for the literary student in these materials; notebooks are frequently useful in tracing the origin of important ideas in a writer's work, or in giving information about the keeper's intellectual development. Next, there is the educational and entertainment value of the contents of the notebooks. In some cases, these records, with their editorial additions, could provide almost a liberal education in themselves, but in others the notebooks are simply good reading; the rough state of expression often characteristic of them (Joan Didion speaks of "bits of the mind's string too short to use")[1] lends them a peculiar charm and immediacy.[2] Many are, as one editor expressed it, "like experience itself--a lively disorder of events and impressions whose very juxtaposition can be refreshing."[1] Thoreau's opinion was that the rough-hewn, fragmentary character of notebook entries was an asset:

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[1] Joan Didion, "Best Selling Novelist Tells Why She Keeps a Notebook: Excerpt from 'Slouching Towards Bethlehem,'" Writers Digest (December 1971), p. 27.

[2] Anatole France's On Life and Letters, First Series, discusses this topic in "The Journal of the Concourts" (New York: John Lane, 1911). This sense of immediacy has also been preserved in the "Table Talks" of such figures as Bronson Alcott, Beethoven (Konversationshefte), Coleridge, Goethe (Conversations), Hazlitt, Johnson, Luther, and Shaw. See, in addition, Boswell's records of conversation with prominent persons he knew in Boswelliana: The Commonplace Book of James Boswell, memoir and annotations by Rev. Charles Rogers (London: Printed for the Grampion Club, 1874), as well as the "Apothegmata and Records of Conversation," in Milton, The Works of John Milton, 18:364-93. Rulers have taken advantage of the appeal of a collection of personal sayings in The Sayings of Chairman Mao and the Table Talks of Hitler. Even literary gleanings like The Analects of Confucius convey a sense of intimacy; similarly, the "dialogue" form of exposition has been used as a teaching technique at least since Plato.

> I do not know but that thoughts written down thus in a journal might be printed in the same form with greater advantage than if the selected ones were brought together into separate essays. They are now allied to life and are seen by the reader not to be far-fetched . . . Perhaps I shall never find so good a setting for my thoughts as I shall have taken them out of. The crystal never sparkles more brightly than in the cavern.[2]

(Virginia Woolf likewise spoke of "diamonds in the dustheap"[3] and Henry James called his notebooks "rude cradles"[4] in which his good ideas ["germs"] woke up.) Emerson even thought that novels would be replaced by "diaries or autobiographies, captivating books."[5]

But finally, even when they are of little literary consequence, the private memoranda of authors carry with them a certain subjective human interest value. Notebooks bring an author very close to the reader as a person. They share the interest of personal photographs, manuscripts, memorabilia, small articles of dress, jewelry, and other personal items.[6]

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[1] Chandler, p. 1.

[2] Thoreau, quoted in "Introduction to Dover Edition," in Henry David Thoreau, The Heart of Thoreau's Journals, ed. Odell Shepard (New York: Dover, 1961), p. viii.

[3] Moffat, p. 13. [4] James, p. xi. [5] Moffat, p. 400.

[6] An increasing number of "pictorial biographies" bring personal effects such as these to the attention of modern readers. In addition to showing articles related to the author's literary activities (such as manuscripts, letters, etc.), they usually include photographs or paintings of the biographee's usual surroundings (from work rooms and libraries, with writing desks and inkstands, to the various homes of the author, showing both places of residence and the cities or rural areas of which they were a part), and photographs, engrav-

Their close personal tie with the person who kept them has an inherent drawing power; reading them somehow creates an illusion of participation in a way that finished works rarely can. This illusion may be heightened to a greater or lesser extent by the way that published versions of notebooks reflect the physical characteristics of the original hand-produced manuscripts. If it is nothing else, a notebook is the vestige of a unique human personality with the stamp of individuality clearly upon it, but it is never possible to transmit all its qualities in a mass-produced article--how could a facsimile convey the smell of the ink, or a transcription the feel of the pages?

Some notebooks exist in facsimile,[1] but most are transcribed. Transcriptions often reproduce the verbal contents of the original more legibly than the words were first written. Editors choose different methods for establishing a text and for translating an author's page design into printer's design, depending upon the intended purpose of the publication. A

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ings, portraits, etc., of the author's associates. The "Studio Book" series of the Viking Press includes books of this kind, for example: Jane Austen and Her World (1969), Henry James, ed. Harry T. Moore (1974), and Keats and His World (1971). Other good examples are Timothy O'Sullivan, Thomas Hardy: An Illustrated Biography (London: Macmillan, 1975); Douglas Gilbert, and Clyde S. Kilby, C. S. Lewis: Images of His World (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans, 1973); (though not a strictly literary example) Robert Craft, Bravo, Stravinsky! (Cleveland: World, 1967); D. H. Lawrence and His World (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966); Roland M. Frye, Shakespeare's Life and Times: A Pictorial Record (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

[1] All the notebooks cited in footnote 3, p. 12, above, are in facsimile. See also Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Jefferson's Farm Book, ed. Edwin Morris Betts (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

transcription may present a clean text as read by the editor (especially if it is intended as a popular edition) or it may present variant readings at great length for scholarly study.[1] Some editions attempt to reproduce certain peculiarities of the text typographically (perhaps supplemented with photographs),[2] such as the manner in which the writing and occasionally sketches and doodles are laid out on the original pages[3] and in the margins[4] or the way in which passages are deleted and emended.[5] In addition, editors supply varying amounts of background information about authors' notes; predictably, the more minutely transcribed specimens contain the most editorial apparatus.[6]

That certain authors have kept notebooks is a common biographical detail that has been ignored by scholarship to a surprising extent. There exist many articles in learned journals that describe such notebooks, but almost none of them is written from a comparative standpoint (this excludes diaries, about which comparative studies have been reported).[1] Furthermore, these articles focus on the authors and their work, the notebooks serving only to illuminate them. To anyone interested in personal records in their own right, however, the time is ripe to focus on the notebooks themselves. Even those more interested in the strictly literary aspects of notebooks stand to gain from a comparative investigation of notebooks: a general view of how authors prepare mechanical aids for themselves and use them in their work is akin to existing studies of authors' sources and of their compositional processes. It is true that notebooks are tools, not literary products, but all the ways that authors read, earmark, copy, file, organize, compile and review information--with or without the aid of records--is of interest to students of literature.[2] Of greater relevance here, however, is the fact that a comparison of authors' notebooks represents a step, small though it is, towards a comparative history of personal record keeping.

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[1] Compare the notebooks of Coleridge and Emerson with those of Charles Baudelaire, *Intimate Journals* (Hollywood: Marcel Rodd, 1947) and Gustav Flaubert, *Intimate Notebooks, 1840-1841*, trans. Francis Steegmuller (New York: Doubleday, 1967).

[2] See the notebooks of Emerson and Coleridge.

[3] As with Coleridge's notebooks.

[4] Two examples are Emerson's notebooks and Martha Graham, *The Notebooks of Martha Graham* (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1973).

[5] See Dostoevsky's notebooks as well as Simone Weil, *First and Last Notebooks*, trans. Richard Rees (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), a translation of the *Cahiers*.

[6] Note that the records of Coleridge and of John Milton, ("Milton's Commonplace Book," in *John Milton: Complete Prose Works*, gen. ed. Don M. Wolfe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953)) contain as much editorial matter as they do original notations.

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[1] See, for example, two articles: Peter Boerner, "The Significance of the Diary in Modern Literature," and Earl Miner's "Literary Diaries and the Boundaries of Literature," in the Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature 21 (n.p.: Indiana University Press, 1972):41-45 and 46-51, respectively. A monographic study of diaries is Das Tagebuch und der Moderne Autor, eds. Hans Werner Richter, Wolfgang Koeppen, and Arno Schmidt (Uwe Schultz, 1965).

[2] Such information has usually not been volunteered by authors themselves but must be discovered through research. The general reluctance on the part of successful artists and intellectuals to reveal details of the creative proccesses by which they produce their works has been noted by some commentators. See "Leonardo da Vinci" in the "Essays" of Paul Valéry, Collected Works, ed. Jackson Matthews (New York: Pantheon, n.d.) on artists; Jacques Barzun "The Scholar Looks at the Library," College and Research Libraries 7 (1946):113-17, on scholars; and "Draft of a Preface for the Flowers of Evil" in Charles Baudelaire, The Flowers of Evil: A Selection, eds.

The Present Strategy

The Scope of Research

The present investigation is a study of published notebooks of literary authors; more specifically, it focuses on records of reading made in such notebooks. Reading notes were chosen as a feature of content that could be easily recognized and compared from case to case. Records of one's reading, of course, can be recorded anywhere that writing can be used, but in authors' notebooks, reading tends to be documented in a few distinctive ways. First, records of reading may occur as part of general diaries of events, observations, and reflections. In such cases, mention of one's reading experiences is frequently regular, detailed, and made in much the same way as other events are commented upon.[1] Some diaries are "intellec-

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Marthiel and Jackson Matthews (New York: New Directions, 1955), pp. xv-xvi, on authors.

[1] Good examples, other than ones to be seen, are John Wesley; Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Diary by E. B. B.: the Unpublished Diary of Elizabeth Barrett Barrett [sic], 1831-1832*, eds. Philip Kelley and Ronald Hudson (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1967); William Byrd, *The Secret Diary of William Bryd of Westover, 1709-1712*, eds. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1941) and *Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover for the Years 1739-1741*, ed. Maude H. Woodfin, decoded by Marion Tinling (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1942); and Dorothy Wordsworth, *The Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, reprint of 1959 edition, edited by E. DeSelincourt, 2 vols. (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String, 1970).

tual journals," devoted principally to matters touching the life of the mind, in which one's own thoughts may be mingled with ideas drawn from reading.[1] Second, there are all-purpose notebooks, such as travelers keep, in which reading notes may be entered along with a thousand other (often lesser) matters.[2] Third, there are separate notebooks in which notes on reading, often arranged under topical headings,[3] are made. The notebooks to be studied here will be seen to be mainly of the second and third types.[4]

Selecting the materials to be compared in this study proceeded as follows. First, a large body of published materials that seemed in some way to consist of the "notebooks of literary authors" was identified bibliographically and as many of them as possible were examined firsthand. Bibliographical searching[1] involved a survey of the current Books in Print and Cumulative Book Index, as well as the catalogs of the University of Chicago Library and of the Newberry Library (since the libraries virtually duplicated each other's holdings, subsequent investigation was restricted to the resources at the University of Chicago). Retrospective searching in the National Union Catalog was deemed unlikely to increase the list of significant sources appreciably. For background reading, the complete runs of Poole's Index, International Index, and Humanities Index were searched (most fruitfully under the terms AUTHORS' NOTEBOOKS and COMMONPLACE BOOKS) and the longest and most recent articles were read.

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[1] For example, Edward Gibbon, Gibbon's Journal to January 28th, 1763, My Journal I, II, & III and Ephemerides (London: Chatto & Windus, 1929).

[2] See Washington Irving's Journals and Notebooks, ed. Nathalia Wright (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), and both works of Thomas Merton already cited.

[3] See Southey.

[4] It would be a pity not to mention, if only in passing, an additional kind of reading record that is easy to overloook: marginalia. The books of some readers become virtual reading notebooks in themselves as comments are entered in the margins and flyleaves. The markings of a number of literary figures have been published, but unfortunately not systematically enough or in sufficient amounts to support a study of them based on secondary sources. The "marginalia" of Coleridge, Poe and Melville have special importance in literary studies. See "marginalia" in C. Hugh Holman, A Handbook to Literature, 3d ed. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1972), pp. 303-4, based on the original by William Flint Thrall and Addison Hibbard. In addition, markings of such figures as Beethoven, Robert Frost, Gabriel Harvey, J. S. Mill, Milton, Swift, Yeats, Voltaire, and Wordsworth have all been transcribed and commented upon. See entries under "MARGINALIA" in Humanities Index for current and retrospective articles. An especially interesting study is "Locke's Library Practice: Shelving, Marking, Cataloguing Books," pp. 30-42, and "Addendum: Signs and Conventions," pp. 63-65, in Locke, Library.

Scanning the notebooks themselves showed that most of them had been kept by British and American authors.[2] The humanities literature also clustered about British and American sources. In light of this, it seemed natural to restrict the projected comparison to the records of Anglo-American authors.

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[1] Title searching under "Commonplace Book(s) . . . ," "Journal(s) . . . ," and "Notebook(s) . . ." and subject searching under COMMONPLACE BOOKS and NOTEBOOKS.

[2] This statement probably reflects the cultural limitations of American library resources. There does seem to be a large body of French notebooks in published form (e.g., Baudelaire, Camus, Flaubert, Gide, Pascal, Robespierre, and Voltaire), as well as German (Goethe, Lichtenberg, Nietzsche, and Wittgenstein), and Russian ones (Chekhov and Dostoevsky). All of these, with the exceptions of Goethe, Lichtenberg, and Robespierre, exist in English editions.

It then remained only to choose from among the several dozen notebooks that fell into this category.

Core of Significant Notebooks

Three criteria were applied to determine the final list of notebooks: length, extensiveness of scholarly annotation, and interest. Further, it was decided to limit the sample size to eight authors and, perhaps arbitrarily, to balance the list with four British and four American authors. The authors whose records were finally selected were:

Francis Bacon	(1561-1626)
John Milton	(1608-1674)
Samuel Taylor Coleridge	(1772-1834)
Ralph Waldo Emerson	(1803-1882)
Henry David Thoreau	(1817-1862)
Mark Twain	(1845-1910)
Thomas Hardy	(1840-1928)
Thomas Wolfe	(1900-1938)

Points of Comparison

In each case, information was sought and reported about:

(1) The circumstances in which notekeeping as a personal habit or practice was taught and learned; how the individual was prompted to begin keeping notes on his reading (required in school to do so? inspired by reading of someone else's doing it? etc.);

(2) The method learned and developed for notekeeping; form and arrangement of entries (lists of titles and authors read? verbatim quotations? etc.); habits of entry; significant changes as the individual developed a personal style that suited him; the way each method changed with time; and

(3) If, how, and for what purposes the notes were consulted and used, especially if they were incorporated into the individual's own writing.

"Antiquarian" Orientation

Since the sample size used in this study was quite small and since each of the specimens differed in the amount and kind of information it provided, this study could only present the readily available evidence for what it might show, without attempting to rigorously fill in all gaps as a broader and more statistical approach might warrant. This old-style, "antiquarian" method of exposition was deemed appropriate both to the nature of the evidence (information that exists in isolated tidbits is well-suited to an anecdotal style of presentation)[1] and to the modest scale on which this study was contemplated.

Strengths and Weaknesses of This Strategy

This study proceeded under a number of limitations. The most obvious of them was the limited number of authors considered; almost nothing could be said about only eight writers that could be safely applied to authors in general. Literary notebooks are not even an important kind of record for some authors, and some may keep "notebooks" that have no ostensible "literary" purposes. Second, comparison among notekeepers was based almost entirely upon information supplied by the published notebooks themselves (in the texts or the editorial additions), although in some cases additional sources happened to be known and were consulted. Notebooks are published unsystematically by many different publishers and, as has been noted, they exemplify a variety of editorial practices. Editors present evidence selectively, with the idea of illuminating the figure who left it, not with a comparative study of records in mind. Sometimes they neglect to comment on aspects of the author's notekeeping habits that are relevant to this discussion; strictly parallel information about each author, therefore, was not always available and it was beyond feasibility to systematically locate information to fill in all gaps in the final mosaic. In some cases, for example, it was not clear what proportion of an author's reading notes survived in the notebooks. Surely most of the notebooks represented only a small fraction of the notes about reading that were made and saved during an author's lifetime. Besides, a "notebook" is rarely an isolated instrument of record but is usually only a part of the corpus of an author's papers that may remain in archival form. The larger context of information-handling in which each author worked, however, may not have been mentioned by his editors, and in such cases there was no choice but to pass silently over the omission.

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[1] The writer is indebted to W. Boyd Rayward for his assurances to this effect.

Counterbalancing these difficulties were the attractions and advantages of studying secondary sources. That these were a convenient mass of sources to handle and consult goes without saying, but their particular value here lay in the wide survey of practices they facilitated. This is in contrast to what could have been learned from deciphering the fading script of one or two notebooks in an archive. Besides, since many of them were prepared for the very purpose of research, these notebooks contained introductory essays and editorial comments that brought together many details that would have been extremely costly to learn about firsthand. Considering the level of summary desired in this study, it would have been a pity to neglect information so readily supplied. Actually, it seemed premature to study original manuscripts when published literature already abounded with so many ununified details. That these materials had been published and were bound to be widely known (especially to persons interested in literature), further suggested that a synthetic view of them would be more welcome and worthwhile than a mere unearthing of new archival sources. Moreover, it was gratifying to reflect that, if some persons, after reading this study, should take an interest in seeing the notebooks themselves, they would find the search for them short and painless; these materials are widely-held in college and research libraries and, besides, are fairly cheap to obtain.

Its limitations aside, one purpose of this presentation was to suggest ideas that might be further pursued in a more rigorous and expansive study.

The Plan of This Thesis

The following chapter presents eight case studies of authors as keepers of reading notes. Because it is difficult to group the notebooks according to "types," the organization of the chapter follows the chronological order of the birthdates of the authors. As far as the available notebooks and a number of readily-accessible other sources permit, the chapter explains how each author began to make reading notes, the form in which he made them, and his habits of consulting and using them. As more notebooks come under discussion, comparisons between specimens are advanced. Some additional notebooks similar to the basic works are mentioned peripherally to serve illustrative purposes. The third chapter attempts to integrate these case studies into a synoptic whole

Relation of This Study to Certain Aspects of Library Science

Library science borders the topic now under study on at least three fronts: in its investigation of the history of records and their users; in its involvement with personal cognition and the use of information; and in its humanistic emphasis.

First, many library studies have a historical orientation. Library science includes an investigation of the history of records; courses relating to the history of books, printing, communication, and scholarship are common offerings in library schools. One is tempted to ask, however, why a broad survey of the history of human records so rarely treats personal ones.[1] Surely a full-orbed study of records should give some attention to records created and used for personal reasons and not just to published ones.

Next, library science has become involved with a broad class of phenomena to which the generic term "personal information processing is sometimes applied. The expression "information processing" is a computer metaphor for human thought[1] that appears with increasing frequency in textbooks of cognitive psychology.[2] In view of its technical connotations it should be used cautiously, but, as it stands, the term suggests a unified body of phenomena that includes the active process of assimilating the contents of written records into personal cognition. The complete picture here includes not only relevant perceptual and attentive processes but also physical techniques of document creation and management.[3] Individuals use these techniques to enhance the availability of chosen blocks or chunks of information, making certain specific cognitive events repeatable. The momentary advantages gained from such techniques may be small, but their cumulative effect can substantially affect the quality and kind of one's cognitive capabilities and prospects. Personal record keeping is really a strategy of information handling, and it has social components (its techniques are taught, learned and shared), not to mention a historical dimension, that library and information science is better suited to study than is cognitive psychology, where the emphasis is strictly on internal thought processes. That library science already identifies with questions of personal cognition and the use of information is shown by articles and book reviews in the professional literature[1] as well as by at least one course offered in a library school.[2]

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[1] An example of this bias towards published records can be seen in H. Cuppy, "Human Records: A Survey of Their History from the Beginning," John Rylands Library Bulletin 27 (December 1942):182-222.

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[1] See "Information-Processing Models of Cognition" in Earnest R. Hilgard, Richard C. Atkinson, and Rita L. Atkinson, Introduction to Psychology, 5th ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1975), p. 287, et seq. and "Information Theory" in Robert S. Goldenson, The Encyclopedia of Human Behavior: Psychology, Psychiatry, and Mental Health (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970), 1:614-16. The cognitive, information-processing perspective on human behavior is at least as old as Epictetus, the Greek Stoic philosopher of the first century, A.D., although scientific formulations from this point of view were not made until this century. In the Enchiridion, compiled by his pupil, Flavius Arrian, Epictetus observes: "You ask what you can call your own? The way you handle your impressions."

[2] Two recent examples are Barry H. Kantowitz, Human Information Processing: Tutorials in Performance and Cognition (New York: Wiley, 1974) and Donald A. Norman, ed., Memory and Attention: An Introduction to Human Information Processing (New York: Wiley, 1976). An interesting turn in secretarial work is the use of the term "word processing" to describe both traditional clerical functions and computer-assisted copying of documents (often letters) in large quantities.

[3] Studies of records management tend to be carried out by business interests and are intended to improve the design efficiency of office methods. They lack the historical outlook and, usually, the personal focus of interest here. For a typical handbook of records management practices in business, see J. Harold Janis and Margaret H. Thompson, New Standard Reference for Secretaries and Administrative Assistants (New York: Macmillan, 1972).

This thesis relates to these phenomena in its comparison of the personal responses of a group of authors to the flow of their reading experience, and it illustrates how material in books and other written matter is actually used. Books are prepared to be coherent packages of meaning whose message progressively unfolds for the reader ("reference" books are important exceptions), but their contents are seldom, if ever, assimilated in the usual sequential order in which one encounters and reads sentences, pages, etc., one after the other. The mind slices up information according to the quirks of one's memory before filing it away for retention and later reconstruction.[1] Every reader plays the role of verbal palette-mixer and cognitive apothecary, and reading notes provide visible evidence that individuals process their reading experiences in different ways, fragmenting and recombining them according to individual habits, preferences, and goals.

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[1] John J. Geyer and Paul A. Kolers, "Reading as Information Processing," Advances in Librarianship (New York: Academic Press, 1974), pp. 175-237, and "Research in the Fields of Reading and Communication," ed. Alice Lohrer, Library Trends 22 (October 1973).

[2] "411. PROBLEMS IN LIBRARY AND PERSONAL INFORMATION PROCESSING . . . focus on the user, his needs and behavior or on certain aspects of mechanization . . . [Professor: Victor S.] Yngve." The Graduate Library School, University of Chicago, Announcements, 1976-1978, vol. 76, no. 2 (August 27, 1976).

Last, the biographical/literary aspects of this study are not deterrents from pursuing it under the wing of the library school. The historical roots of librarianship are grounded in the humanities and, though it has its technological features, the library profession today is still tinged with the love of letters. Recognizing this, it is not inappropriate to study literary authors and their record keeping techniques with the eye of the bookman. Any librarian a century ago would have applauded such an effort.

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[1] See sections on memory in Roger Brown and Richard Herrnstein, Psychology (Boston: Little Brown, 1975).

CHAPTER II

EIGHT CASE STUDIES

> Mark such expressions as you like with a line under them. Sentences and remarkable passages gather into your commonplace book.
>
> Richard Holdsworth[1]

The "Promus" of Francis Bacon[2]

The first reading record to be considered here was begun by Francis Bacon in his thirty-fourth year at the beginning of Christmas vacation.[3] It served him actively for about two years.[4] In it, he entered phrases from his reading, thinking, and conversation that struck him as apt, elegant, or useful. How the idea to keep a register of expressions came to Bacon is not known. No doubt, his formal schooling had some influence, but whatever the specific source of the idea for him, it is known that keeping notebooks in various forms was a common practice among educated young men of his time.[1] It is interesting that Bacon titled this ledger:

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[1] Holdsworth, "Directions for a Student in the Universitie," printed in Harris Francis Fletcher, The Intellectual Development of John Milton, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), p. 644.

[2] Francis Bacon, 1561-1626. Sources: Constance Mary Pott, The Promus of Formularies and Elegancies by Francis Bacon Illustrated and Elucidated by Passages from Shakespeare (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1883) was published to demonstrate that Bacon wrote Shakespeare's plays and, accordingly, is heavily annotated. Bacon's Promus of Formularies and Elegancies also appears in Edwin Durning-Lawrence, Bacon is Shakespeare (New York: John McBride, 1910). "Bacon Begins to Write" in Bowen provides additional background information. In addition to his Promus, according to Ruth Mohl, Bacon also kept "moral, economic (that is, domestic or private), and political indexes . . . . according to a plan probably derived from Aristotle." John Milton, Complete Prose Works, 1:349.

[3] The first page is dated December 6, 1574 (Bowen, p. 81).

[4] He made entries in this notebook until sometime in 1596 (Pott, p. 1).

> With his penchant for elaborate titles, Bacon called his note-book Promus of Formularies and Elegancies--formulary being the current fancy version of the word formula, and promus the slave who in Roman times dispensed supplies from the household storeroom.[2]

Bacon's original manuscript, which still exists, comprised fifty sheets[3] (1,680 entries),[4] some of them interspersed with blank leaves. Usually, phrases (they might be characterized as "word experiments") are written in the form of a straight list, though at times they appear in two parallel columns. Quotations from the Latin Bible, Erasmus, Ovid, Seneca, Virgil, and (crucial to the purpose of the Pott edition) Shakespeare are written in the original English, Latin, and Greek:[1]

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[1] See Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 145ff. Hamlet contains an illusion to commonplace books: Hamlet, to the Ghost:

". . . Remember thee?
Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat
In this distracted globe [his head]. Remember thee?
Yea, from the table of my memory
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records.
All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past
That youth and observation copied there,
And thy commandment all alone shall live
Within the book and volume of my brain,
Unmixed with baser matter
. . . .
My tables, my tables! Meet it is I set it down
That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain . . ."
Hamlet, I, v, 102-113

[2] Bowen, pp. 81-82.

[3] Pott, p. 1. In the unannotated version of Durning-Lawrence, the Promus occupies ninety-three pages of text.

[4] Ibid.,p. 16.

> . . . Bacon set down phrases, words, tricks of speech--whatever might prove useful not only in writing but in conversation. It is wonderful to read these exercies with their simplicity, their workaday air. One page is filled with morning and evening salutations: 'Good night, good soir, good matins. . . . Good day to me and good morrow to you. . . . I pray God your early rising does you no hurt. . . . Up early and never the nearer. . . . There is a law against liers-abed.' A second sheet has phrases to help speed an argument: 'Now you say somewhat. . . . Answer me shortly. . . . The matter goeth so slowly forward that I have almost forgotten it myself, so as I marvel not if my friends forget.'[2]

In most cases, the phrases are set down without apparent order or connection, as though Bacon were simply writing down lines as they came to him.[3] Quotations are taken from his reading, "stirred in his memory and thrown down at random, correctly, incorrectly with no authors given."[4] One commentator surmises that these quotations were written from memory:

> That they were set down, not as he read, but from memory afterwards, I infer from the fact that many of the quotations are slightly inaccurate; and because so many out of

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[1] There are also "Some choice Frensh [sic] Prover[bs]" on the last page, but they are not in Bacon's hand, Ibid., p. 2.

[2] Bowen, p. 82.

[3] This may have been deliberate on the part of Bacon. Erasmus, whose pedagogical ideas still held great currency at this time discouraged "literal note-taking as a habit injurious to the memory and to the power of selection," William Harrison Woodward, Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education (New York: Columbia Teachers College, 1964), p. 119.

[4] Bowen, p. 83.

> the same volume come together, and in order, I conclude that he was in the habit of sitting down, from time to time, reviewing in memory the book he had last read, and jotting down those passages which, for some reason or other, he wished to fix in his mind.[1]

It cannot be said with what specific intentions Bacon kept these notes. Perhaps he wished to use them in writing subsequent literary works. Bowen thinks Bacon practiced speaking these phrases alone in his room.[2] Almost all of them appear later in writings such as The Advancement of Learning, Novum Organum,[3] and Colours of Good and Evil.[4] In certain places, lines appear drawn across the entries, as though Bacon crossed out passages when he used them later, and, in others, marks similar to the capital letters T, F, and A are placed at the ends of lines (to suggest where they could be used?). The fate of some of these imprecise reading notes, then, was that they were used by Bacon without credit to the original author. Bowen defends Bacon:

> It was a custom of the day for readers to copy out, in their commonplace books, whatever pleased them in other men's works. Often enough these diligent copyists neglected to cite the author's name and ended by simply appropriating what they found. One cannot look on it as plagiarism with Bacon, because somehow he transformed the material; he called this the hatching out of other men's creations: 'I am glad to do the part of a good househen,' he wrote, 'which without any strangeness will sit upon pheasant's eggs.'[5]

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[1] James Spedding as quoted by Pott, p. 7.

[2] Bowen, p. 82. [3] Ibid., p. 83.

[4] Pott, p. 82. Pott also contends, of course, that many of the phrases recur in what she likes to call "the plays allegedly written by Shakespeare" and she summons hundreds of quotations to prove it.

[5] Bowen, pp. 83-84.

Some of Bacon's own ideas about notemaking are proverbial. He once observed:

> A man would do well to carry a pencil in his pocket and write down the thoughts of the moment. Those that come unsought for are commonly the most valuable, and should be secured, because they seldom return.[1]

In The Advancement of Learning he "praises the entry of 'commonplaces' as 'a matter of great essence and use in studying'"[2] and writes in the same work "touching provision or preparatory store for the furniture of speech and readiness of invention."[3] His best-known essay, "Of Studies," contains the motto, "If a man write little, he had need have a great memory," as well as the dictum, ". . . writing maketh an exact man." According to one scholar, "writing," in this last phrase, is used as a synecdoche to refer to the registering of summaries, digests, paraphrases, précis, extracts, outlines, synopses, résumés, verbatim quotations, and underscorings that readers use to imprint what they read on the mind and fix it there sharply.[1]

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[1] Quoted in The New Dictionary of Thoughts, rev. and en., originally compiled by Tryon Edwards (New York: Classics Publishing Co., 1934), p. 646. Similarly, Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote, "It is a capital plan to carry a tablet with you, and, when you find yourself felicitous, take notes of your own conversation," The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table (New York: Airmont, 1968), p. 11. Kierkegaard had similar impulses: "It is said that Kierkegaard had a desk in every room in his house, in order that whenever an idea occurred to him, even as he was moving from room to room, he could immediately register it. He subscribed to the maxim of Hamaan: 'There are certain thoughts a man is capable of thinking only once in his life. Write it down!'" Kierkegaard, 1:xxiii.

[2] Bacon, The Advancement of Learning, quoted in Milton, Complete Prose Works, p. 350.

[3] Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning/Novum Organum/New Atlantis (Chicago: Great Books, 1952), [II, xxxviii, 7], p. 68.

Bacon's Promus is probably the oldest published notebook of its kind. It illustrates "the pains the man took, the plainness of his notations and experiments, his meticulous care of words."[2] More than that, the Promus is a satisfying piece of evidence that Bacon, whose counsels were to become so influential in intellectual history, based his advice about notemaking squarely on his own practices.

The Commonplace Book of John Milton[3]

John Livingston Lowes describes Milton's commonplace book as "a severely ordered collectanea of extracts culled from his reading, docketed alphabetically and methodical as a ledger."[1,2] Clearly, it is a different kind of record than Bacon's random jottings. Bristling as it does with bibliographical citations to Milton's books, it is almost a research notebook.[3] In keeping it, Milton utilized techniques that he learned first at St. Paul's School, and later refined at Cambridge.[4] The commonplace tradition, in which Milton was educated, began in Clas-

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[1] Francis J. Grenier, S.M., "Bacon's Portrait of the 'Exact Man': Reading with Pen in Hand," American Notes and Queries 8 (1969):4-5.

[2] Bowen, p. 82.

[3] John Milton, 1608-1674. Milton's commonplace book has appeared in several editions. The latest and most complete (used here) is included in Wolfe's edition of the Complete Prose Works of Milton, 1:362-513, with preface, pp. 344-59, translation, and notes by Ruth Mohl (Mohl's preface will be cited frequently [as "Mohl"] in the following pages). Its purpose is not only to present the full text of Milton's notebook, including translations, but to provide complete references, wherever possible, to the sources from which Milton drew quotations. These references are taken from books owned by or available to him. The Camden Society first arranged to print the document in 1876, and, later in the same year, the Royal Society of Literature issued an edition (with a press run of one hundred) of a facsimile reproduction. The third edition to appear was included in Milton, Works (Columbia ed.), 18:128-221. This was the first published version to include translations, but it did not show the sources of Milton's entries and without this information the commonplace book is impossible for the general reader to understand. Joseph Milton French, ed., The Life Records of John Milton, 5 vols. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1950), which reproduces certain legal documents, accounts, etc., pertaining to Milton, includes an account of the notebook under study ("Begins to Keep a Commonplace Book," 1:4-5).

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[1] John Livingston Lowes, The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927), p. 5.

[2] The commonplace book was not the only notebook kept by Milton. French alludes also to another document (which appears to be published in Milton, Works, 18:228-46): "Keeps Poetic Notebook with Plans for Poems and Other Writings," 1:3-4, and Mohl remarks: "From some of the headings and marginal references in the Commonplace Book it is evident that Milton also kept a Theological Index, but that manuscript has not been found" (p. 349). (See the lower footnote 1 in Mohl, p. 365, for additional description of the theological index.) In addition, there are a Latin table of contents and a seven-page Legal Index (printed in the Columbia edition, 18:221-28) associated with the commonplace book, but their attribution to Milton is disputed and Mohl does not include them in her version of the commonplace book.

[3] One is reminded of Will Cuppy, the humorist, who kept his reading notes in card files, Will Cuppy, The Decline and Fall of Practically Everybody, introduction by Fred Feldkamp (New York: Henry Holt and Co., Inc., 1950). Donald Lemen Clark, John Milton at St. Paul's School: A Study of Ancient Rhetoric in English Renaissance Education (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), writes that the commonplace book "reflects the nature of the filing system used by a mature scholar, who assembled matter against future use in his publications . . ." (p. 225).

[4] Clark discusses the commonplace book in Milton's early formal training ("Exercises for Praxis: Commonplace Books," pp. 217-26). Fletcher tells the complete story of Milton's work at Cambridge and includes a complete transcription of a student manual used there (Holdsworth's "Directions for a Student in the Universitie," 2:624-55). This manual includes

sical times and developed in the Middle Ages to support rhetorical and declamatory exercises.[1] Holman[2] provides a useful definition:

> *Commonplace Book*: A classified collection of quotations or arguments prepared for reference purposes.[3] Thus, a reader interested in moral philosophy might collect thoughts and quotations under such heads as truth, virtue, or friendship. *Commonplace books* were utilized by authors of [essays], theological arguments, and other serious treatises. The *Commonplace Book* of John Milton is still in existence. The term is also sometimes applied to private collections of favorite pieces of literature such as the poetical miscellanies of Elizabethan times. R. W. Stallman's *The Critic's Notebook* is an excellent *commonplace book* of the [New Criticism].[4]

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explicit instructions about gathering reading notes and about copying and memorizing striking passages.

[1] For a treatment of the classical roots of the Renaissance commonplace book, see Joan Marie Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces*, 1st ed. (New York: Pageant Press, 1962). "An historical investigation of the general and universal ideas used in all argumentation and persuasion with special emphasis on the educational and literary tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (title page).

[2] Holman, p. 113.

[3] This definition is an appealing one but, in actual usage, the term "commonplace book" is frequently applied to describe any private notebook in which entries, whether copied quotations or original thoughts, are periodically recorded, regardless of their arrangement. Archival use of the term may apply it to any kind of memorandum book, including all-purpose pocket notebooks, scrapbooks, etc. A "commonplace book" might contain lists of addresses, drafts of letters, accounts, recipes, photographs, or clippings.

[4] Robert Wooster Stallman, *The Critic's Notebook* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950). Examples of the same kind of compilation are: Charles P. Curtis, *A Commonplace Book* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957); Charles P. Curtis and Ferris Greenslet, *The Practical Cogitator* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1945), and Edith Sitwell, *A Poet's Notebook* (London: Macmillan, 1943). An especially expansive example is W. H. Auden, *A Certain World: A Commonplace Book* (New York: Viking, 1970). (Auden is fond of compilations with a personal flavor; he has also written *Marginalia*, *Academic Graffiti*, and "Apothegms.")

Concise and comprehensive treatment of this subject is rare,[1] but the following article[2] provides a good summary:

> *COMMONPLACE BOOK*.--A book in which passages on different topics are gathered under general heads for purposes of general reference and application. A commonplace, or *locus communis*, is defined by Cicero as a general argument which is applicable to many cases (*De Inv*. 2:xiv-xvi, . . .). The practice of keeping notebooks into which commonplaces were written was customary among the medieval students. Rudolf Agricola . . . , in his letter *De Formando Studio* (1534), gives perhaps the best example of the method in which such books should be drawn up: 'We should have certain topics, as for example, virtue, vice, life, death, ignorance, benevolence, hate, and others of this kind, the use of which is quite common on all occasions, and, as it were, general, and we should repeat these frequently and refer everything we say, so far as possible, and certainly everything we learn, to these headings.' Agricola recommends this method as the best for retaining what has been learned. It will be noticed that most of the topics are of a moral character. The *Loci Communes* of Melanchthon (1525) had a religious content. Erasmus recommends the taking of notes in class, not verbatim as dictated by the teacher, but under headings systematically arranged. The keeping of commonplace books usually accompanied the exercises in declamation . . . and disputation . . . , the notebooks serving for ready reference on the theme under discussion. An excellent example of the commonplace book is that compiled by Milton . . . The commonplace book was naturally transferred to this country, and is early found at Harvard. Samuel Sewall . . . defines commonplacing as the reducing and treating of topics of theology, philosophy, etc., under certain commonplace or general heads" (*Diary*, 1674). Commonplacing as a part of the disputation is referred to as an exercise expected of all sophisters and bachelors (*Laws, Liberties, and Orders of Harvard College, 1642-1646*). The term seems to have been used both of the short sermon delivered by students at the opening of the day's work, and of the regular defending of a thesis

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[1] As it is of so many pre-modern forms of notemaking. Besides the *Oxford English Dictionary*, there are few sources that discuss the historical use of such terms as adversaria, analecta, antitheta, collectanea, chrestomathy, commonplace, commentarii, compilatio, enchiridion, emphemerides, exempla, florilegium, formula, index rerum (and verborum), marginalia, miscellanea, scholia, spicilegium, and vademecum.

[2] Paul Monroe, ed., *A Cyclopedia of Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1911), 2:7, 160-61. Unfortunately, the article is not signed.

at graduation.[1] The commonplace book disappeared generally in the middle of the eighteenth century,[2] although it appears to have been in use in the sixth form at Harrow as late as 1839. (See American Annals of Education, 9 (1839): 100).

The commonplace book or Stammbuch, not only served an educational purpose. In the eighteenth century in Germany the practice arose of keeping autograph albums, in which autographs were accompanied by quotations or original contributions of a literary character . . . .[3]

Arising out of both these forms of practices is the publication of books of quotations and sayings on any one topic, taken from all languages.

Milton used his commonplace book to record facts, illustrations and ideas from his general reading. Beginning at about the age of twenty-three, he used the same notebook intermittently for some thirty-four years. The pages of the manuscript, originally bound in rough sheepskin, were close in size to sheets of typing paper.[4] Of the 222 pages (111 leaves) that remain, Milton's notes cover 71 pages.[1] It appears that all the notes Milton recorded in the book have survived, despite the fact that a number of leaves and parts of leaves have been cut away. The final page of the notebook contains an index to the foregoing entries.[2] The manuscript is divided into three topical sections, each prefaced by a title page: "Index Ethicus," "Index Æconomics," and "Index Politicus." Milton appears to have written on the length rather than the breadth of the page,[3] making his entries in English, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek.

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[1] See Fletcher, 1:57.

[2] Yet Thomas Jefferson kept at least two commonplace books which have survived from about this time: The Commonplace Book of Thomas Jefferson, A Repertory of His Ideas on Government, ed. Gilbert Chinard (Baltimore: John [sic] Hopkins Press, n.d.), and The Literary Bible of Thomas Jefferson: His Commonplace Book of Philosophers and Poets (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928). Among his many reading notebooks, which shall be seen, Emerson kept a commonplace book of classified quotations. His index was arranged according to the method of John Locke, a scheme which was popularized by the commercial marketing of blankbooks ruled according to Locke's system. See Ralph Waldo Emerson, The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson, ed. William H. Gilman (Cambridge: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, 1960), 1:26. Even someone as far removed from the Renaissance as Woodrow Wilson kept a commonplace book. Wilson (1:83ff) began his notebook after reading an article describing an index rerum, a "methodically arranged commonplace book," and, interestingly, he made his entries in shorthand.

[3] Beethoven's Stammbuch was of this kind.

[4] Measuring 11 1/4 by about 9 inches.

Milton's general reading was vast in scope and the man pursued his studies systematically and with care. He obviously began to keep his commonplace book so that the benefits of his learning would not be lost to him. He cites about ninety authors, many of them obscure to the modern reader,[4] some represented by more than one work (110 works in all). Many sources, such as the Bible and the classics, which Milton used constantly, were not represented at all in the commonplace book; these obvious deletions aside, it is still certain that Milton did not make notes on everything he read. His historical readings are especially well-represented and he also copied quotations from his readings in travel literature, biography, law, military science, philosophy, theology, and science.[1] Many of the notes refer to volumes in Milton's own library, an impressive collection of books so large that Milton once changed his residence for the sake of a place to keep them.[2] "Milton's method of note-taking," Ruth Mohl surmises, "must have been that of most of his learned predecessors and contemporaries. Bacon kept just such moral, economic (that is, domestic or private), and political indexes [as Milton's], according to a plan probably derived from Aristotle."[3] She continues:

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[1] Examination of the manuscript shows that pages were originally numbered from 1 to 250. In print, the commonplace book (Yale edition) occupies 151 pages.

[2] According to Mohl, Milton in the Areopogitica calls this kind of flyleaf index a "topic folio," (p. 350).

[3] See Mohl's facsimile page, p. 361.

[4] For instance, Cedren, Cuspinian, Girard, Giovio, Jovius, Procopius, Sarpi, Seissel, Sigonius, Sleidan, Thou (or Thuanus) and Villani.

> Like the modern note-taker, they chose broad, general headings under which to record their findings from many sources; but unlike modern notes taken on cards for filing,[4] the entries or "commonplaces" on each topic were put together in a book for ready reference when needed. Sometimes, as a result, the entries were crowded, but there they were together, for use in discussion of that topic later on.[5]

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[1] Mohl, p. 348, provides a concise description of the chronology of Milton's reading.

[2] Ibid., p. 355. Mohl notes the value of Milton's commonplace book "as a key to the use of his library. For no matter how brief the notes, with them he could turn to his books, when occasion demanded, and review in more detail the reasons for views and faiths formulated earlier," (p. 356).

[3] Ibid., p. 349.

[4] Holdsworth (Fletcher, p. 651; Holdsworth, pp. 50-51) describes how one student of the time kept a scrap file in lieu of a commonplace book. He "caused a box to be made with as many partitions as he could have had heads in his booke, so that writing his Collection in any bit of paper, he might without more trouble throwe it in to its Topick, & look over each divisiō on occasion." Holdsworth did not like this idea.

[5] Mohl, pp. 349-50.

In the beginning, Milton kept the notebook entirely by himself (his handwriting is clear even after three hundred years and stains of dampness). But he continued his private studies even after the onset of blindness, when (at about forty-two years of age) he began dictating entries for the commonplace book to secretaries ("amanuenses"), of whom he was to employ at least five or six. Study of his handwriting reveals that Milton's practice was to write a heading at the top of each new page he used, to make the first entry just below it on the page, and to enter a citation for the passage in his index at the same time. Several entries were frequently recorded in succession, as shown by clumps of similar handwriting which come to an even margin. Such sections are less crowded than portions added at a later time, which are not continuous and which may be written in a different hand with a different kind of pen, and which are sometimes inserted in a space too small for them. Sometimes additions are recorded in the margins with asterisks showing where the material would have gone had there been room.[1]

Milton made careful, scholarly notes, not the casual, evocative jottings one might expect of a poet, and these show him to have had a thorough knowledge of his books. Besides quotations and paraphrases, he regularly recorded bibliographical citations from his reading; in fact, an occasional entry consists of only such a citation. Milton made his entries as brief as possible. He abbreviated the names of authors and titles of works, but in most cases recorded the book, chapter, section or page number so that he could refer to his sources later. In recording these citations, he used the abbreviations "l." for _liber_ (book), "c." for _caput_ (chapter), and "p." for page or _pagina_. He sometimes indicated his use of a Greek text by the abbreviation "græc." Though he made his notes carefully, Milton was not consistent in his placing of headings and references. Often he paraphrased his original source (in whatever language it happened to be written)[1] and frequently added his own comments at the beginnings and ends of entries. Where he quoted, he often omitted quotation marks. In such cases "[t]he word 'inquit' (he says) before a quotation furnishes an occasional clue and the symbol _&c_ at the end of a quotation provides another; but they are often lacking."[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 351.

Like Bacon, Milton found his notebook useful in his writing. Interestingly, the sequence of subjects in which he wrote his later works follows approximately the arrangement of the commonplace book. Mohl reports that "Milton's record of indebtedness [to his commonplace book] in phrase, sentence, or idea, is to be found everywhere in his works. . . . [A]lmost every entry was put in use in some form or another."[3] Some of the ideas he recorded were so fundamental to his thinking that they pervade all his writing. In summary, Milton's commonplace book was a vital part of his studious and literary endeavor, for Milton was a bookish poet, and "without the aid of books on which he carefully took notes, there would be no Milton as we know him."[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 350. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., pp. 358-59. Mohl's notes indicate some of the more important uses Milton made of individual entries.

The Desk- and Pocketbooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge[2]

"I have bought a little blank book and a portable ink horn; and as I journey onward, I here and anon pluck the wild flowers of Poesy."[3] So wrote Coleridge in a letter to Robert Southey as he began the first in what was to be a series of sixty-seven notebooks written over a span of about forty years.[4] Most of these notebooks, like the first one, were of pocket size, though some were larger and more handsome, clearly intended for use at a desk. The larger notebooks are more orderly, being sometimes compiled from the pocketbooks, which were used by Coleridge wherever he was to register promising ideas that came to him[1] (towards the end of his life he called them "The Flycatchers").[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 359.

[2] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 1772-1834. Sources: Notebooks, complete ed., edited by Kathleen Coburn, vols. 1-2 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1959, 1961), vol. 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), is the basic work. It is issued in six volumes, three of text and three of notes, all bound in red with a red silk bookmark sewn into each one. It fills out the picture created by Anima Poetae, an edition of selected aphorisms and sentences from the notebooks. Coleridge himself prepared Aids to Reflection, ed. Derwent Coleridge (London: E. Moxon Son, 1854), a didactic religious work in commonplace book style. John Livingston Lowes discussed the genesis of "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" and "Kubla Khan," using the "Gutch Memorandum Book," one of the earliest surviving notebooks.

[3] Coleridge, "Notes," Notebooks, 1:xvii.

[4] "For about forty years, from the time of his first walking tour in Wales in 1798 until a few weeks from his death in July 1834, Coleridge wrote in notebooks . . . [T]hey are, with a few exceptions, numbered from 1 to 67 . . ." Ibid., "Text," 1:xix.

Anima Poetae summarizes the corpus of notebooks as a whole:

> Of the intervening collection of pocket-books, note-books, copy-books, of all shapes, sizes, and bindings, a detailed description would be tedious and out of place. Their contents may be roughly divided into diaries of tours in Germany, the Lake District, Scotland, Sicily, and Italy; notes for projected and accomplished works, rough drafts of poems, schemes of metre and metrical experiments; notes for lectures on Shakspere and other dramatists; quotations from books of travel, from Greek, Latin, German and Italian classics, with and without critical comments; innumerable fragments of metaphysical and theological speculation; and commingled with this unassorted medley of facts and thoughts and fancies an occasional and intermitted record of personal feeling, of love and friendship, of disappointment and regret, of penitence and resolve, of faith and hope in the Unseen.[3]

The notebooks of Coleridge depart markedly from the restrained notemaking styles used by Bacon and Milton a hundred years earlier. This may reflect the contrast between the English Renaissance and the Romantic Era in which Coleridge lived, with its climate of self-expression,[1] although no doubt it owes a great deal, too, to Coleridge's own lack of system. Far from the precise citations of Milton's commonplace book or the courtly lines in Bacon's Promus, Coleridge's memoranda are restive, agitated, and impulsive. The order in which he made entries was virtually random. In the beginning Coleridge had attempted to keep his notebooks in an organized way:

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[1] "'The literary instinct,'" said Samuel Butler in The Way of All Flesh, "may be known by a man's keeping a small notebook in his waistcoat pocket into which he jots down anything that strikes him, or any good thing that he hears said, or a reference he thinks will come in useful to him." Butler, p. 5. Butler carried on this very practice for the greater part of his life, copying the notes he made into larger books (called commonplace books). The contents of these were in turn revised, re-copied and indexed, resulting in a final total of six large notebooks at the end of Butler's life.

The pocket notebook has always been a popular device among creative people. A recent study of contemporary poets shows that many of them habitually carry notebooks and index cards to secure promising ideas that come to them for later evaluation and use. Alberta T. Turner, ed., Fifty Contemporary Poets: The Creative Process (New York: David McKay Co., 1977), reviewed in Hugh Kenner, "The Poets Explain," The New York Times Book Review (July 21, 1977), pp. 12-13. Even Leonardo da Vinci carried tiny paper pads in his belt on which to make quick sketches during the workday. In his spare time he would sort the slips topically and copy them into his notebooks.

[2] Coleridge, Anima Poetae, p. xi.

[3] Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

> But after [his] experience of Notebook 3 1/2, which he tried to divide up into sections . . . , and after two or three other faint efforts to use different parts of a book for different kinds of things, he apparently became reconciled to the farrago of unrelated matters he noted down and gave up trying to be systematic.[2]

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[1] Diarizing was in vogue in Coleridge's day. As the wave of Romanticism swept through Europe, readers were collecting and preserving choice passages from books, magazine articles, and even letters. This was a period hospitable to self-exploration and personal expression. In Germany, Schubert composed proverbs and kept a poetic diary as a boy; later, the young Schumann made a "Collection of Mottoes" and filled a melancholy journal with evidence of his artistic ambitions and romantic stirrings. Goethe's Elective Affinities contains an entry "From Ottilie's Diary" characteristic of the prevailing cultural mood:

> "Any good thought which we read, anything striking which we have heard, we commonly enter in our diary; but if we would take the trouble, at the same time, to copy out of our friends' letters the remarkable observations, the original ideas, the hasty words so pregnant in meaning, which we might find in them, we should then be rich indeed. We lay aside letters never to read them again, and at last we destroy them out of discretion, and so disappears the most beautiful, the most immediate breath of life, irrecoverably for ourselves and for others. I intend to make amends in future for such neglect."

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Elective Affinities (New York: Ungar, 1967), p. 202.

[2] Coleridge, Notebooks, 1:xviii. Another time he tried

The result of this resignation to disorder was an unfathomable mass of material. Coleridge knew that there were valuable ideas buried beneath all the rubble and once contemplated making a book of extracts from his notebook for publication:

> When shall I find time & ease to reduce my Pocket-books and Memorandums to an Index--or Memoriæ Memorandorum? If--aye! and alas! If--if I could see the last sheet of my Assertio Fidei Christianæ, et Eterni temporizantis; having previously beheld my Elements of Discourse, Logic, Dialectic, & Noetic, or Canon, Criterion, & Organon, with the philosophic Glossary--in one printed volume, & the Exercises in Reasoning as another--if--what then? Why, then I would publish all that remained unused, Travels & all; under the Title--of Excursions abroad & at Home, what I have seen & what I have thought ~~and~~ with a little of what I have felt, in the words in which I told and talked them to my Pocketbooks, the Confidantes who have not betrayed me, the Friends whose Silence was not Detraction, and the Inmates before whom I was not ashamed to complain, to yearn, to weep--or even to pray!--
>
> To which are added Marginal notes from many ~~books~~ old Books and one or two new ones--
>
> Sifted through the Mogul Sieve of Duty towards my Neighbor--By Εστησε, 21 June 1823[1]

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to keep an alphabetical vocabulary book, a cumbersome and whimsical scheme that soon failed, ibid., 1:xxvi. Coleridge crammed the maximum amount of material into his pocketbooks; "[T]he acute paper shortage of the period of the Napoleonic wars" (1:xxiii) encouraged this frugality.

[1] Ibid., pp. 18-19, June 21, 1823. Printed also as an epigraph to Anima Poetae. "Εστησε"is the pronunciation for "S.T.C." (Samuel Taylor Coleridge), written in Greek characters. Coleridge was fond of writing in the Greek alphabet in his notebooks.

Leonardo da Vinci had similar problems with his own voluminous papers and prefaced one bundle of notes with these lines:

> "This will be a collection without order, made up of many sheets which I have copied here, hoping afterwards to arrange them in order in their proper places according to the subjects of which they treat; and I believe that before I am at the end of this I shall have to repeat the same thing several times; and therefore, O reader, blame me not, because the subjects are many, and memory cannot retain them and say 'this I will not write because I have already written it.' And if I wished to avoid falling into this

Coleridge made notes wherever he was: whether at his desk or in the sitting-room, jogging children on his knee (their marks, stray "scrawls and pothooks"[1] sometimes turn up in the notebooks). In addition, "[h]e wrote, we know under the influence of spirits and opium, in the dark, on fell-sides and mountain-tops, in bed, and probably in stagecoaches even when they were on the move."[2] The notebooks became more and more chaotic as Coleridge came back later to insert afterthoughts above and footnotes beneath his original jottings. To add some element of order, he sometimes separated entries with a diagonal line, a practice that G. M. Hopkins may have learned from seeing Coleridge's notebooks.[3] Coleridge himself had trouble reading his own tangled writing. At one point he noted that he had written "rather scramblingly."[4] As they exist now, the notebooks are fading and water-stained, and the margins and

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> mistake it would be necessary in order to prevent repetition, that on every occasion in which I wished to transcribe a passage I should always read over all the preceding portion, and this especially because long periods of time elapse between one time of writing and another."

Edward MacCurdy, ed., The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci, 2 vols. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1955), 1:43.

In passing, it might be observed that there are certain rewards for disorganization. As A. A. Milne observed: "One of the advantages of being disorderly is that one is constantly making exciting discoveries." Who knows how a liking for the element of surprise may have sidetracked many persons who firmly resolved to keep things in order!

[1] Coleridge, "Text," Notebooks, 1:xxxv.

[2] Ibid., p. xxiii.

[3] E. Blunden, "Coleridge's Notebooks," Review of English Literature, 7 (January 1966):25-31, especially p. 29.

[4] Coleridge, "Text," Notebooks, 1:xxx.

inside covers have been rubbed to smear the writing (that in pencil especially) from being carried in Coleridge's knapsack or walking-jacket. Any editor of these records must wrestle with hard decisions--and do a lot of explaining. Kathleen Coburn confronted many thorny issues, sometimes establishing unorthodox policies of editing (e.g., "Slips of the pen are respected, . . . such things have their own interest and significance.").[1] When she had done all any human being could do to explain Coleridge's notes, Miss Coburn wrote (with a sigh, one fancies): "As to many other irregularities, he goes to press with all his sins upon his head."[2]

The notebooks of Coleridge are full of the most winning idiosyncrasies. Mrs. A. Gillman, a moralistic custodian of the notebooks after Coleridge's death, whose marks of censorship were left with heavy black ink, scissors, and acid eraser, was frequently moved to comment in the margins as she read over the notes ("I believe it. A.G." or "How very affecting! A.G."). Coleridge's notebooks show the "unfinished vitality of the studio."[3] Of Notebook No. 2 Coburn wrote, "It is possible that this, like some of the later ones, was a notebook of home manufacture. The stitching is, or was, very uneven."[4] Coleridge set a standard of honesty for himself on the first page of his first notebook by crossing out the first he wrote and attempting it again. The pages that follow are filled with a myriad of things in no particular order[1]--riddles, accounts, poetical scansion (usually without words), and descriptions of countrysides and pastoral scenes (with lines to suggest the contour of the land). Daily schedules show that Coleridge was an inveterate planner, sometimes working down to the minute. In one place he allowed himself "ten minutes for clearing dishes."[2] Along with these schedules are lists of household "Desiderata"; one such list includes a pipe, a cheese-toaster, a potato-roaster, and "four urine pots."[3] At times, Coleridge wrote in a code (which, reportedly, was not difficult for the editor to decipher),[4] made up of Greek letters and marks of punctuation, to preserve privacy.[5] Sometimes he transliterated an English word into Greek characters, as he did the name of Sarah Hutchinson, his mistress.[1]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid., p. xxxiii.

[3] Ibid., p. xviii. [4] Ibid., p. xxi.

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[1] "Coleridge regularly used his notebooks from both ends. The inside covers came to be used at odd times for brief jottings like addresses, appointments, titles of books, laundry lists, small things he did not wish to lose among (nor allow to interrupt) the notes on a tour in the Lakes, plans for articles or poems, or other more highly valued memoranda," ibid., p. xviii. "[T]he use of almost all the notebooks was intermittent: within a week two or three notebooks sometimes came into use, and many of them were set aside in drawer or pocket or travelling-case for months, even years, and hence were in sporadic use over a long span of time," ibid., p. xx. Coleridge tried to compensate for this by dating the occasion when he returned to a notebook after a period of not using it, ibid., p. xxii.

[2] Ibid., p. 283. [3] Ibid., p. 284. [4] Ibid., p. xxxiv.

[5] That Coleridge occasionally had qualms about how others might look upon his notes is clear; in one place he wrote: "Mem. If I should die without having destroyed this and my other Memorandum Books, I trust, that these Hints and fist Thoughts, often too cogitabilia rather than actual cogitata a me, may not be understood as my fixed opinions--but merely as the Suggestions of the disquisition; & acts of obedience to the apostolic command of Try all things: hold fast that which is good," ibid., p. xix.

Although Coburn's notes explain almost every one of Coleridge's entries individually, they nowhere summarize the "reading notes." Where possible Coburn specifies the source of Coleridge's quotations (often taken down with no reference to origin), but in preparing the notes for publication she was "haunted less by perfectionist standards than by the desire to make Coleridge available."[2] Coleridge did not really make conscious "reading notes" as such. He merely jotted down fragments from his reading[3] in the same mercurial way that he recorded his own thoughts: just as they came to him, with little concern about verbal fidelity to the original (his word-play extended even to the Greek passages he copied), let alone the citation of a source. His reading notes range from notes on many Biblical texts[4] to extracts from a rare volume of Bruno.[5] Coleridge gathered phrases not only from books but from letters and conversation, too.

The use of Coleridge's reading notes, therefore, is not easy to describe. Coburn herself says "much work needs to be done on Coleridge's reading, not only of books but of periodicals."[1] The "Gutch Memorandum Book" contained material taken from travel literature and Lowes has treated it thoroughly in his The Road to Xanadu. But, though the use of Coleridge's notebook memoranda in his published work is traced in Coburn's notes, there is still quite an incomplete accounting of them. Coleridge did do a certain amount of direct transcribing, but not to the extent that either Bacon or Milton did. Certain ideas and turns of phrase appear in his poetic and prose writings that are reflected in his notes, but at this stage of scholarship, little more can be said but that his notes assisted him in reviewing certain details of his reading experiences that he might otherwise have forgotten.

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[1] "Sarah" was changed to "ΣAPA." One is reminded of a similar trick used by young Thomas Jefferson, who camouflaged the name "Belinda" in his letters by writing in backwards in Greek characters: "αδνιλεβ."

[2] Coleridge, "Text," Notebooks, 1:xl.

[3] Yet his reading notes are an important difference between his notebooks and Shelley's, which resemble Coleridge's clearly in form.

[4] See, for example, Coleridge, "Text," Notebooks, vol. 1, notebook 1, entry 6, passim.

[5] Ibid., notebook 21, entries 927-28.

Certainly Coleridge considered his reading important. He often recorded the dates of reading and rereading books, not to mention passages within books.[2] He once thought of a plan for charting one's intellectual growth which involved:

> beginning a separate notebook for each of [two or three great] writers, in which your impressions . . . are to be recorded with date of each . . . [and revised about once a year] . . . [A] continuity would be given to your being, and its progressiveness insured. All your knowledge otherwise obtained, whether from books or conversation or experience would find centres around which it would organize itself.[3]

Coleridge's notebooks are a fascinating assemblage of fact, speculation and nonsense. Lowes' description of the

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[1] Ibid., p. xl. [2] Ibid., p. xxiv.

[3] Coleridge, Anima Poetae, p. 253.

"Gutch Memorandum Book," when taken as a description of the whole body of Coleridge's notebooks, provides a fitting postscript:

> It is a catch-all for suggestions jotted down chaotically from Coleridge's absorbing adventures among books. It is a repository of waifs and strays of verse, some destined to find a lodgement later in the poems, others yet lying abandoned where they fell, like drifted leaves. It is a mirror of the fitful and kaleidoscopic moods and a record of the germinal ideas of one of the most supremely gifted and utterly incalculable spirits ever let loose upon the planet. And it is like nothing else in the world so much as a jungle, illuminated eerily with patches of phosphorescent light, and peopled with uncanny life and strange exotic flowers. But it is teeming and fecund soil, and out of it later rose, like exhalations, gleaming and aerial shapes.[1]

The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson[1]

It is almost impossible to summarize meaningfully a mass of material so rich and various as the published notebooks of Emerson. In these extensive transcriptions one sees a devotion to the proto-literary remains of Emerson verging on idolatry. The editors have employed and--alas for them!--continue to employ the most meticulous techniques to reproduce the notebooks in astonishing detail.[1] They not only make every effort to recover and present the "original text" (which sometimes includes erased pencil writing!) but also to relate all the materials to specific details of Emerson's career as a lecturer, essayist, and poet. Masses of fine print describe the condition of each notebook explicitly, missing pages are faithfully reported, and appendices carefully relate the codex manuscripts to the published notebooks. A system of symbols shows cancellations, insertions, additions, variants, and material lost by accidental mutilation (some is recovered conjecturally and is so labelled). The editors preserve Emerson's original pagination and dating, his system of cross-references, and his own indexes to the notes (correcting his errors and expanding his abbreviated citations with full title and page references). They distinguish between entries originally made in pen and pencil, and they describe significant details of capitalization and punctuation, as well as brackets, curves, double and triple underscoring, practice penmanship, isolated words and letters, superscripts, insertions, symbols (including pointing hands and Emerson's "mark of original authorship"), marginalia, and the sketches and miscellaneous markings which decorate the notebooks. The delight of this system of description is the way it catalogs minor features explicitly for the reader, leaving virtually nothing unnoted that might be overlooked in a facsimile edition. This is not to say that the notebooks have been strictly reproduced jot for jot in typeface, for the editors omit Emerson's underscoring to indicate intended revision, they silently expand Emerson's common personal contractions, and they likewise omit slips of the pen, false starts at words, careless repetitions of a single word, and Emerson's occasional carets under insertions. To give an idea of how the original pages looked, a page or two of facsimile is included in nearly every volume.[1]

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[1] Lowes, p. 6.

[2] Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1803-1882. Sources: Scholarly activity in the fields of Emerson and Thoreau has expanded greatly during the past two decades. The basic work here is Emerson, *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks*. This work was originally contemplated to fill about sixteen volumes. To date (1977), thirteen of them have been issued, covering the years 1819-1855. This edition is an approved text of the Center for American Editions of American Authors of the Modern Language Association and bears its insignia. It supercedes the ten-volume *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, eds. Edward W. Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), and its abridged offshoot, *The Heart of Emerson's Journals*, ed. Bliss Perry (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914).

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[1] The details of this procedure were carefully decided upon in advance by the CEAA. Aside from general objections to the methods of the CEAA, the detail in which the Emerson material is being transcribed was attacked by Lewis Mumford in "Emerson Behind Barbed Wire," *The New York Review of Books* 7 (January 18, 1967):1-5. The CEAA is also publishing Washington Irving's *Journals and Notebooks* and Mark Twain's *Notebooks and Journals*, eds. Frederick Anderson, Michael B. Frank and Kenneth M. Sanderson, 2 vols. to date (1977) (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975-).

Emerson's notes represent many forms of record. His notebooks include both quotations and original writing (some of it early drafts of works), as well as index volumes that gave Emerson a conspectus of his reading and referred him to specific pages in his notes. Emerson scanned and reviewed his previous journals thoroughly, rereading, revising, and indexing them not once, but often. He sometimes added comments (e.g., "Pish.")[2] at a later time. The editors describe the notebooks by such titles as "Blotting Book," "Blue Book," "College Theme Book," "Collectanea," "Memo," "Journal," "Pocket Diary," and "Sea Notes"; sometimes they use Emerson's own titles, such as "Composition," "Encyclopedia," "Index Minor," "Platoniana," "Questions," "Sermons and Journal," "The Universe," and "Wide World," not to mention the less imaginative ones such as "Notebook Phi" and "Blankbook VIII."

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[1] See, for example, the leaves inserted between pp. 158 and 159 in Emerson, Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks, vol. 1.

[2] Ibid., 1:xiii. Raymond Chandler also added comments (e.g., "Oh, my God," or "God help us") when rereading his notebooks when he sensed pretensiousness in his writing (Chandler, p. 2). Louisa May Alcott did the same thing, adding comments (e.g., "Good joke" and "Poor little sinner!") to the diary she was required to keep as a girl when she read it again forty years later (Moffat, pp. 28-33).

The marks of Emerson's individuality are everywhere preserved in these volumes in all their charm and poignancy. Along with the more important journal entries appear incidental items such as lists of chores to be done, addresses of people to see, agendas and plans, and accounts. In the "Notebook Man," the editors report that "a dried crocus is pressed between [the] pages."[1] The notebooks from Emerson's student days are especially enjoyable, with their drawings of furled banners, towers, human faces, bookcases, chests and ornamental scrolls used to embellish titles and headings. In one place Emerson sketches a man whose feet have been bitten off by a great fish swimming nearby, and adds the caption, "My feet are gone. I am a fish. Yes, I am a fish!"[2] Emerson frequently addressed himself in his notes, sometimes in tones of an adult giving advice. In one place he begins a short lecture to himself with the words, "Young Waldo, . . ."[3] In another he begins a list of authors with a hortatory "Thou shalt read . . ."[4] Emerson was still writing in notebooks by the time he was himself a father and he recorded the sayings of his children in them.

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[1] Emerson, *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks*, 12:56.

[2] Ibid., 1:57. [3] Ibid., 1:42. [3] Emerson, *Heart*, p. 188.

One was spoken by his little daughter, Ellen, who was asked if it were raining outside and replied, "There's tears on the window."[1]

Emerson drew his intellectual vitality from a myriad of sources, and he abstracted and commented on his eclectic reading[2] constantly. His journals are so extensive (182 volumes kept between the ages of seventeen and seventy-two), that only a brief summary of them is possible here. From his student days, Emerson was an avid collector of the thoughts and expressions of others, and he carefully treasured the many notebooks of quotations that he compiled with such diligence. Emerson began his note-keeping habits at Harvard, where "commonplacing" was the accepted method of study.[3] That Emerson had such a strong inclination to keep notebooks sprang no doubt from internal causes, but both the fact that commonplacing was "the habit of the age" and that Emerson's family included a long line of ministers for whom "lustre-collecting" was necessary for writing sermons certainly had their influence.[1] Emerson warmed to the practice gradually. "After a considerable interval," he wrote in "Wide World 3," "I am still willing to think that these commonplace books are very useful and harmless things--at least sufficiently so to warrant another trial."[2] Aside from one commonplace book, or "Index Rerum,"[3] the early notebooks were compiled at random. Later, Emerson experimented with topical headings and systems of indexing until he found a method he liked.

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[1] Emerson, Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks, 7:xi.

[2] For an account of Emerson's reading, see Kenneth W. Cameron, Ralph Waldo Emerson's Reading (Hartford, Conn.: Transcendental Books, 1962) and Emerson's Workshop: An Analysis of His Reading in Periodicals to 1836 with the Principal Thematic Key to His Essays, Poems, and Letters: Also Memorabilia of Harvard and Concord, 2 vols. (Hartford, Conn.: Transcendental Books, 1964). Mr. Cameron has contributed substantially to scholarship of the American Renaissance with his encyclopedic studies of sources. Unless otherwise noted, his books to be listed in subsequent notes are published by Transcendental Books in Hartford, Connecticut. Cameron also produced a three-volume The Transcendentalists and Minerva (1958) and later issued selected chapters from it in Emerson and Thoreau as Readers (1972). See also his three-volume Transcendental Climate: New Sources for the Study of Emerson, Thoreau, and Their Contemporaries (1963).

[3] For an account of the American practice of keeping journals and commonplace books for self-analysis and composition, see Kenneth Murdock, Literature and Theology in Colonial New England (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949). For a comprehensive survey of Emerson's early training in rhetoric and traditions of commonplacing, see Ralph S. Pomeroy, "Emerson as a Public Speaker," (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1960).

Emerson's first real reading record, "Wide World 1," opens with a list of "Books to be Sought";[4] it contains verbatim quotations. The succeeding "Wide World 2" records a list Emerson drew up of readings to do when he was bored ("1. Take Scott's novels & read carefully the mottoes of the chapters," etc.) and a list of "Books--Inquirenda" with a list of "Subjects for Themes."[1] "Blank Book No. XVII" was used to collect notes for a dissertation on Socrates. The first of the true quotation-books that Emerson kept was "The Universe." It is full of long excerpts from Emerson's reading that cite author and title, but no page or line numbers. Another record was begun in December of Emerson's senior year at Harvard when he made a catalog of books read at college (by no means exhaustive), which eventually covered five years (1819-24) of study and comprised 142 entries.

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[1] Emerson, Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks, 6:19.

[2] Ibid., 1:59.

[3] This title was used also by Woodrow Wilson for his commonplace book. The flyleaf indexes in the books of C. S. Lewis include "index rerums" as well as "index verborums" and lists of "good passages." (See his copy of The Works of John Gower in the Marion E. Wade Collection at Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois.)

[4] Emerson, Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks, 1:27.

Interesting as these records are, a recital of the contents of the two dozen notebooks that one might call distinctive records of Emerson's reading would be dreary, in great contrast to the actual records. In the published notebooks, "Forewords" contain excellent descriptions of Emerson's working methods and explain his means of compiling notes, drafting works, and indexing his notes (the introductions to volumes 6 and 17 are outstanding in this regard). Emerson's classified and indexed notes include material not only about his reading, but also records of his own thoughts, notes from his letters to friends, and remarks from the conversation of friends (such as Jones Very, whose observations Emerson noted down during Very's visit of several days) and relatives. Emerson's notebooks are a long string of blue books and pocket diaries containing book lists (for buying, borrowing, or reading), quotations short and long (with only general references to their sources), and commentaries on readings. In the beginning these notes were mixed with less related memoranda, but as Emerson ripened as a thinker and writer he abandoned the grab-bag arrangement of his youth for schemes in which related materials were kept together. Subject headings such as "Compensation," "Design," and "Nature," topics well-known to readers of his essays, recur ever more frequently in the later notebooks. Thousands of entries testify to Emerson's interest in Bacon, Carlyle, Coleridge, Goethe, Montaigne, and Plutarch (authors long recognized as important to his thought), not to mention his nodding acquaintances with countless lesser lights. For the reader of the notebooks, the introduction to each volume relates the material in it to Emerson's work and to changes in his attitudes and outlook, and thick layers of footnotes explain allusions and trace ideas and quotations to their sources. With the passing of time, Emerson's comments on his reading (e.g., "I won't relax with poetry. I want something more bracing. I'll take Montaigne.")[1] are increasingly confined to his journal and do not intrude into his reading notes.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 55.

For Emerson,keeping notebooks was both useful and pleasureful. He had a strong sense of the value of even half-formed ideas:

> This book is my savings Bank.[3] I grow richer because I have somewhere to deposit my savings: and fractions are

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[1] Ibid., 6:13.

[2] The editors distinguish between Emerson's "journals" and his "miscellaneous notebooks," sometimes devoting separate volumes to the material of each of the two different kinds.

[3] Thoreau shared this attitude with Emerson, as shown by this passage from his journal:

> worth more because corresponding fractions are waiting here which shall be made integers by their addition.[1]

His notes assured Emerson of his potential as a writer and made his sallies into literature, feeble though they were at first, tangible to him. He once wrote to Thomas Carlyle,

> I send you a little book I have just now published, as an entering wedge. I hope for something more worthy and significant.[2]

Emerson was so convinced of the value of notebooks that he urged others to keep them (despite his statement in "Self-Reliance": ". . . our notebooks impede our memories, our libraries overload our wits."). Once he asked his brother

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> To set down such choice experiences that my own writings may inspire me and at last I may make wholes of parts. Certainly it is a distinct profession to rescue from oblivion and to fix the sentiments and thoughts which visit all men more or less generally, that the contemplation of the unfinished picture may suggest its harmonious completion. Associate reverently and as much as you can with your loftiest thoughts. Each thought that is welcomed and recorded is a nest egg, by the side of which more will be laid. Thoughts accidentally thrown together become a frame in which more may be developed and exhibited. Perhaps this is the main value of a habit of writing, of keeping a journal--that so we remember our best hours and stimulate ourselves. My thoughts are my company. They have a certain individuality and separate existence, aye, personality. Having by chance recorded a few disconnected thoughts and then brought them into juxtaposition, they suggest a whole new field in which it was possible to labor and to think. Thought begat thought.

Thoreau, *Heart*, p. 73. Henry James also eulogized his notebooks: "I am in full possession of accumulated resources--I have only to use them, to insist, to persist, to do something more--to do much more--than I *have* done. . . . All life is--at my age, with all one's artistic soul the record of it--in one's pocket, as it were," (James, p. x).

[1] Emerson, *Heart*, p. 82.

[2] Emerson, *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks*, 5:ix.

Edward to start one, citing Bacon's rules for a traveller: "the first is to keep a journal."[1]

Emerson's notes were valuable, no doubt, in spurring his intellectual development, but they were often made with the intention of future use in his poems, essays and lectures. His journals formed a sort of artificial memory for him. "A great man quotes bravely," he once observed, but he might have added the aside that the great man also covers his tracks. In his own writing Emerson frequently shows when he is quoting but almost always omits the name of the person quoted. At other times Emerson neglects entirely to indicate that he is quoting, let alone refer to a source. It is not as though Emerson were not consciously quoting someone else; his "use marks"--vertical and diagonal lines struck through entries (pencil for lectures, ink for other writings)--show that he was usually careful not to reuse phrases. Sometimes he changed the wording or meaning of an original statement; he quoted Latin and Greek authors, for example, in his own translation without credit to the originators. But, as his editors summarize it, "the right words at the right time were what he wanted,"[2] and his notebooks provided an important means for finding the right words.

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[1] R. C. LaRosa, "Emerson's Search for Literary Form: The Early Journals," Modern Philology 69 (1971):25-35. Samuel Johnson was notorious for encouraging other people to keep diaries, though he could never persist in keeping one himself (Donald Hyde and Mary Hyde, "Johnson and Journals," The New Colophon: A Book Collectors' Quarterly 5 (1952):168.

[2] Emerson, Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks, 6:xii. Emerson expressed his philosophy of quotation in the essay "Quotation and Originality."

The Journal of Henry David Thoreau[1]

The notebooks of Henry David Thoreau are still neatly packed in a strong handmade box (the home Thoreau built for them), just as they were stored when Emerson came to borrow them from Thoreau's sister, Sophia, after Thoreau's death.[2] Perhaps it was then that Emerson saw the two-million-word journal (Thoreau always referred to it in the singular) in its entirety for the first time. It had taken twenty-four years to write. There were thirty-nine volumes and the first one opened with a slightly cryptic entry:

> 'What are you doing now,' he asked. 'Do you keep a journal?' So I make my first entry to-day.[3]

Could Emerson guess who "he" was? One can only hope so: "he" was Emerson.

The example of Emerson (sixteen years Thoreau's senior) had been important to Thoreau all his adult life. As a Harvard student, Thoreau had borrowed from him (and copied) a commonplace book that Emerson himself later used in the writing of his Parnassus.[1] At Emerson's urging, Thoreau began his journal at the age of twenty, soon after leaving college. Emerson had used his own journals as exercise books for developing ideas and as source books for stockpiling insights. At first Thoreau did somewhat the same thing. Later, however, he found that he preferred to compile, polish, and refine his thoughts before writing in his journal, "a fact proved by the existence of many preliminary drafts of the later journal texts."[2] Yet, as has been noted, Thoreau liked the rough-hewn quality of the journal and was particularly fond of the detached, laconic aphorisms--pensèes--that Emerson liked. The few of Thoreau's writings that were published during his lifetime (Walden, A Week, and a few magazine articles) were all deliberately worked out from passages in the journal.

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[1] Henry David Thoreau, 1817-62. Sources: Henry David Thoreau, The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau, 14 vols. in 2, eds. Bradford Torrey and Francis H. Allen (New York: Dover, 1962) is the basic work; Thoreau, Heart is an abridgment. Three other of Thoreau's records have been edited by Kenneth H. Cameron, whose exhaustive studies of Emerson have been seen: Thoreau's Fact Book, 3 vols. (1966); Thoreau's Canadian Notebooks and Record of Surveys: Selected Chapters from Transcendental Climate (1967); and Transcendental Apprenticeship: Notes on Young Henry Thoreau's Reading: A Conjecture with a Researcher's Index (1976). This last work is the most significant and useful of the three; it "assembles the surviving notebooks and reading 'systems' of young Thoreau, organizing the material chronologically with editorial expansions and commentary to point up significance," (Preface). Since these are materials from school, however, they will not be discussed here. They consist mainly of verbatim quotations, though sometimes passages are condensed. Entries are usually followed by the author and frequently the title of the parent work. No page numbers appeared in the original, although Cameron has supplied them where possible.

[2] Thoreau, Journal, 1:vi. [3] Thoreau, Heart, p. 2.

Thoreau was a literary diarist who kept his journal for the sake of the disciplined focus it routinely required of him. He wrote in "ordinary blank books of the sort furnished by country shopkeepers . . . larger or smaller as might happen, and of varying shapes . . . ."[3] In one place he pointedly complained, "I cannot easily buy a blankbook to write thoughts in; they are commonly ruled for dollars and cents."[4] Thoreau's reading[1] is frequently the subject of discussion in his journal. In some places, Thoreau simply copied quotations without comment, as in a commonplace book. The first pages of his journal contain a long register of such material. But such entries are less common than Thoreau's commentaries on his reading. A scanning of the table of contents in the published edition reveals numerous references to reading, many of them from Oriental literature and the Greek and Latin classics. Some of the earliest section titles should suffice to show the subjects of these entries: "Quotations from Goethe" (Chapter One), "Zeno the Stoic . . . Old Books . . . Homer . . . Anacreon's Ode to the Cicada" (Chapter Two), "Aeschylus . . . Linnaeus" (Chapter Three), "Books of Ancient History" (Chapter Five). In such passages Thoreau comments on the works and their authors, often quite subjectively. Any quotations that appear are not long.

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[1] It is printed in Cameron, Transcendental Apprenticeship, pp. 209-11.

[2] Thoreau, Journal, 1:v. [3] Ibid., 1:9.

[4] Ibid., 1:262.

Though he sometimes read intensively on special topics (as he did when preparing for a trip to Canada), Thoreau's reading was wide-ranging and desultory. This is the kind of record that the journal was. Though refined in many ways, it was written by Thoreau unto himself. His notes and his reading were useful in keeping certain ideas and concepts available to him. Thoreau's journal is a storehouse of information and observations that kept Thoreau well-nourished during his lifetime and that, thanks to its publication, continues to nourish posterity.

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[1] Kenneth Cameron has described Thoreau's reading exhaustively from his high school years on. See Young Thoreau and the Classics: A Review: The Curriculum of the Concord Academy: Probabilities and Evidence (1975); and Thoreau's Harvard Years: Materials Introductory to New Explorations: Record of Fact and Background (1966). See also Cameron's Thoreau Discovers Emerson: A College Reading Record (New York: New York Public Library, 1953), and Walter Roy Harding, Thoreau's Library (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1957).

The Notebooks of Mark Twain[1]

> My boy, you must get a little memorandum-book, and every time I tell you a thing, put it down right away. There is only one way to be a pilot and that is to get this entire river by heart.[2]

Mark Twain was twenty-one years old when Horace Bixby, the riverboat pilot to whom he had apprenticed himself, approached him "in the gentlest way" with this advice. Twain had just failed an oral examination based on the points of the river passed on the preceeding watch in which, according to his own account, he showed that he had not learned "enough to pilot a cow down a lane."[3] Twain took Bixby's suggestion,[4] thereby beginning what was to become the third of forty-nine notebooks left behind at his death.

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[1] Mark Twain, 1835-1910. Sources: Twain, Notebooks, as of this writing, presents a transcription of twenty-one of the forty-nine extant notebooks (twelve in vol. 1, nine in vol. 2). It supercedes Mark Twain's Notebook, ed. Albert Bigelow Paine (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935). Although produced by the CEAA, this most recent edition is presented in lesser detail than Emerson's Journals, and in many places consists only of extracts. The introductions to the various notebooks discuss thoroughly the important references in Twain's writing to notebooks.

[2] Twain, Notebooks, 1:1 (quote from chapter 6 on Life of the Mississippi).

[3] Ibid.

[4] Some of these notes appear on ibid., p. 42, and are pictured on p. 44.

Twain's first surviving notes had been made two years previously when the nineteen-year-old printer kept running notes on a book about phrenology and made studious lists of French words with their English equivalents and charts of conjugated verbs.[1] These jottings, which included reminders about errands, together with miscellaneous observations, were made in a random form that was to characterize most of the notebooks kept sporadically over the next fifty years. Like Coleridge and others, Twain used whatever space in the notebooks was available, inserting material haphazardly and sometimes writing back-to-front. Most of his notebooks were of pocket size and were called into use under all kinds of conditions, resulting at times in greatly cluttered pages. Twain wrote "while on horseback, or aboard ship, in a carriage or a crowd, or in very bad light"[2] and occasionally would inadvertently write off the end of a page. He used a number of devices to separate entries, including horizontal lines, flourishes, and indentations. Sometimes he tore off part of a page to write a message; at other times he added clippings and scraps of paper with notes others had written. He drew maps and sketches and sometimes even put down a fragment of music (one line looks like "Do-Dah" by Stephen Foster).[3]

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[1] It is interesting to see the efforts to learn foreign languages that are recorded in certain published notebooks. Coleridge listed many German phrases and practiced composition in his notes (Coleridge, Notebooks, 1:359ff). In teaching himself Latin, Leonardo da Vinci made long vocabulary lists with definitions, which are published and subjected to psychological evaluation in Raymond S. Stites, The Sublimations of Leonardo da Vinci (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970), pp. 175ff.

[2] Twain, Notebooks, 1:581. [3] Ibid., 1:58.

Twain must have been impressed with the usefulness of notebooks[1] because he himself became involved in the blankbook manufacturing business.[2] Eventually, he became so accustomed to making notes that he once used a pack of playing cards when he had nothing else to write on.[3]

A large number of Twain's notes are matter-of-fact records whose value is ephemeral. But Twain must have enjoyed even these notes when in later years he rediscovered and read over notebooks not used in decades. (In reading his notes again, Twain sometimes added and dated interlinear comments.)[1] However, some of the notes do provide a glimpse even to outsiders of his inner life:

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[1] Although he could ridicule his own travel notebooks in The Innocents Abroad (see Twain, Notebooks, 1:71).

[2] Twain once invented a notebook, apparently for commercial sale, in which "each page had an 'ear' at the top, to be torn off when the page was filled. The book then opened at the next blank page." (Twain, Notebook leaf between pp. 98-99, shows a picture of the invention.) Twain also invented a kind of scrapbook:

> "During this period, Clemens was involved in the manufacture of 'Mark Twain's Patent Self-Pasting Scrap Book,' an invention which Clemens had enthusiastically announced to his brother Orion on 11 August 1872: 'My idea is this: Make a scrap-book with leaves veneered or coated with gum-stickum of some kind; wet the page with sponge, brush, rag or tongue, and dab on your scraps like postage stamps. . . . [A] great humanizing and civilizing invention' . . . The sales of the scrapbook were steady, if not extraordinary. Slote, Woodman & Company's statement for the period ending 31 December 1877 shows that twenty-five thousand copies of the scrapbook were sold . . . The scrapbook was Clemens' only commercially successful invention."

(Twain, Notebooks, 2:12, note 2).

[3] Twain's account:

> "When we first sailed away from Ostend I found myself in a dilemma; I had no notebook. But "any port in a storm," as the sailors say. I found a fair, full pack of playing cards in my overcoat pocket--one always likes to have something along to amuse children with--and really they proved excellent to take notes on, . . . I made all the notes I needed. The aces and low "spot" cards are very good indeed to write memoranda on, but I will not recommend the Kings and Jacks."

(Twain, Notebooks, 1:4).

> Gobbled the youth's place in the line & was proud of my . . . manly assertion of my rights. When he yielded & looked so meek & abashed, felt infinitely ashamed of myself. Did not get through blushing for an hour.[2]

Scraps from Twain's reading appear unpredictably in his notes. Here and there, among laundry lists, shopping reminders, family anecdotes, notes about appointments, and personal and family accounts (the most characteristic insertion in any of the published notebooks), are a Shakespearean sonnet (and one by Sheffield, Earl of Buckingham), an extract from Voltaire, and a religious poem, "The Burial of Moses." The most sustained reading notes, though, were made in preparation for major undertakings. During a voyage across the Atlantic, for example, Twain made use of the ship's library to prepare a portable reference guide for his approaching visit to the Holy Land, which included notes on Greece, Balaklava, and the Dardanelles as well. He listed great numbers of Biblical references pertinent to the places he intended to visit[3] and made extracts from a pious travel guide.[4] He interspersed his detailed historical and geographical notes with the amusing and skeptical asides one would expect of him:

> [the sons of the priest Eli] grew up in iniquity unrestrained by parental authority (like the sons of preachers generally) . . . [Israel] again went out to battle but

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[1] As in the case of his piloting notes. Ibid., p. 45.

[2] Ibid., 2:12. [3] Ibid., 1:458-67. [4] Ibid., pp. 476ff.

> Israel had sinned & god was not with them (or maybe they hadn't a good general).[1]
>
> Night gathers round [Jacob]--he takes a stone for a pillow--(Jacob was not particular) the hard earth for his bed (hard but roomy) . . .[2]

(As it turned out, these notes were of little use to him because the itinerary for his trip was changed.) Although he did occasionally copy short passages from his reading because he liked them, most of his reading notes were made for utilitarian reasons. Since Twain used his quotations creatively, he had no need to add citations to what he copied or paraphrased beyond an occasional note of author or title. He certainly did not make reading notes ritually; even though he read large amounts of historical material as a background for writing The Prince and the Pauper (and books on theology and history for A Connecticut Yankee), he left only scanty remains in his notebooks from these periods.[3]

In contrast to those seen so far, the notebooks of Mark Twain are homely and variegated records. They do contain reading notes, though not extensive ones on an Emersonian kind, and they do illuminate the inner man, but not as Coleridge's do. These, rather, are the everyday notes of an itinerant journalist and lecturer who made notes only when he had to:

> It is a troublesome thing for a lazy man to take notes, and so I used to try in my young days to pack my impressions in my head. But that can't be done satisfactorily, and so I went from that to another stage--that of making notes in a note-book. But I jotted them down in so skeleton a form that they did not bring back to me what it was I wanted

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[1] Ibid., p. 477. [2] Ibid., p. 480.

[3] See ibid., 2:369-70, on The Prince and the Pauper.

> them to furnish. Having discovered that defect, I have mended my ways a good deal in this respect, but still my notes are inadequate. However, there may be some advantage to the reader in this, since in the absence of notes imagination has often to supply the place of facts.[1]

The Literary Notes of Thomas Hardy[2]

Toward the end of his life, Thomas Hardy destroyed most of his personal papers and diaries and, following his death, still more were destroyed according to his wishes. Among his few surviving notebooks are three stationery account books or ledgers,[3] all quite legible. One (containing twenty-three pages of text), small and rectangular,[1] bears no proper title (its first pages are missing), although "1867" is written upon the front fly-leaf; the other two squarish notebooks[2] are entitled "Literary Notes I" (143 pages of text) and "Literary Notes II" (128 pages). Their contents were not intended for publication. "Literary Notes II" even contains a note in Hardy's hand: "Not to be published or promulgated."[3] Material was recorded in the notebooks from the 1860's until 1927,[4] and thus represents all but the first few years of Hardy's career as a novelist. The most important part of the notes was begun during a period in Hardy's work marked by an increased ambition to esthetic and ideological sophistication.

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[1] Twain quoted in an interview in 1898, ibid., 1:5.

[2] Thomas Hardy, 1840-1928. Sources: Thomas Hardy, *The Literary Notes of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Lennart A. Björk, 4 vols. (two containing Hardy's notes, two containing the editorial apparatus) (Göteborg, Sweden: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1974). Hardy's notes occupy 500 pages of printed text; they originally covered 294 pages, not to mention some inserted leaves tipped into the notebooks and a few loose pages. Each entry is assigned a number by the editor (Hardy did not assign them himself). References to the editorial preface will take the form "Björk, p. ___." Another edition of Hardy's notebooks is Thomas Hardy, *Notebooks and Letters from Julia Augusta Martin*, ed. with notes by Evelyn Hardy (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1955). Björk cites what is probably another edition of the same material, *Thomas Hardy's Notebook*, ed. Evelyn Hardy (London: n.p., 1955). Hardy's notebooks are also discussed in Millgate and O'Sullivan. Florence Emily Hardy, *The Life of Thomas Hardy, 1840-1928* (London: n.p., 1962), cited frequently by Björk in his "Preface" (e.g., p. xii) is another source of information.

[3] A fourth one bearing the heading "Facts from Newspapers, Histories, Biographies and other Chronicles--(mainly Local)" is preserved along with these three, but was not transcribed and annotated (because of financial constraints?) in the Björk edition. All four were made publically available in 1962. Another small notebook of 1865 entitled "Studies, specimens, etc." is in a private collection, apparently not accessible to the public (Björk, p. xxix). Evelyn Hardy describes in addition a small notebook headed "*Memoranda* of Customs, Dates, &c--(viz. Prose Matter) I," (Björk, p. xxxiv).

Far from the Madding Crowd (1874) had established Hardy in England and France as a major novelist of rustic life and manners. While he must have appreciated critical recognition, it is clear that he resented being categorized as little more than a chronicler of country life. Hardy did entertain some speculative aspirations and found the narrowness of the recognition given to his work unflattering. "He was aware," wrote Florence Emily Hardy, "of the pecuniary value of the reputation

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[1] 4 1/2" by 7". [2] 7 1/4 by 8 7/8"; and 7 1/8" by 9".

[3] Björk, p. xxxi.

[4] Approximate dates when the notebooks were used are:

"1867 Notebook	(1860's-1885)
Literary Notes I	(mid-1870's-1888)
Literary Notes II	(1888-1927)

Ibid., pp. xxxi-xxxii. The most likely starting point for Hardy's "Literary Notes" (the most significant portion of the surviving notes), was the first half of 1876 (Hardy was thirty-six years old). But he may have begun them as late as the late spring of 1877 (ibid., p. xxxv).

for a specialty; . . . yet he had not the slightest intention of writing forever about sheep farming."[1] In the spring of 1876 Hardy wrote to his friend, Leslie Stephens, to ask what works of criticism he could read to improve his writing. Stephen's reply was that Hardy should avoid literary criticism; it could only make him more self-conscious. He did nontheless make some suggestions:

> I should . . . advise the great writers--Shakespeare, Goethe, Scott &c, &c, who give ideas & don't prescribe rules. Sainte Beuve and Mat. Arnold (in a smaller way) are the only modern critics who seem to me worth reading--perhaps, too, Lowell. . . . [A]bove all . . . read George Sand, whose country stories seem to me perfect, and have a certain affinity to yours.[2]

The advice was of limited use to Hardy, who had read "the great writers" before. But at this time Hardy did take a year's sabbatical from writing. He made use of this time to read extensively, studying and collecting material which would be of use to him as a writer.

It appears then that Thomas Hardy deliberately increased the scope and seriousness of his preparations for his writing career in his mid-thirties. He had made other preparatory studies before, as documented by other notebooks kept from 1865 onward, and a note of March 1875: "Read again Addison, Macaulay, Newman, Sterne, Defoe, Lamb, Gibbon, Burke, Times leaders, etc., in a study of style."[1] But his later efforts were to prove even more fruitful. Hardy's "Literary Notes," while they do not provide a full picture of his general self-instruction[2] or a full account of his literary studies, do show the kinds of reading Hardy considered desirable and necessary for his work. They reflect a significant portion of his planned course of study to broaden his knowledge and increase the intellectual sophistication of his writing. A late entry in the "Literary Notes," a passage from Arnold, seems to summarize Hardy's philosophy of learning: "a great poet receives his . . . superiority from his application . . . to his subject . . . of the ideas . . . which he has acquired for himself."[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. xii, citing Florence Hardy, Life, p. 102.

[2] Ibid., p. xviii, citing Frederic William Maitland, The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephens (London: n.p., 1906), pp. 290-91, and adding "The letter is also partly quoted in The Life of Thomas Hardy [op. cit.], p. 109."

The earlier notes show Hardy's obvious enthusiasm for the new project, reflected in the great number of entries with material published in 1876.[4] This burst of enthusiasm was apparently fueled by a backlog of old material that was ready to be copied anew; the first noes appear to have been entered *en masse* by his first wife, although Hardy usually made the entries himself. He apparently made the first entry in "Literary Notes I" to show how he wished the material to be copied.

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[1] Björk, p. xvi, citing Evelyn Hardy, *Life*, p. 105.

[2] The usefulness of personal journals in autodidacticism was emphasized in a recent book, Ronald Gross, The *Lifelong Learner: A Guide to Self-Development* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977), which was reviewed in *The New York Times Book Review* 82 (September 11, 1977):24. According to the review (written by Henry Mayer), the book describes "a series of success stories" and gives "detailed suggestions for keeping journals, setting goals and identifying resources."

[3] Entry 1104. [4] Björk, p. xxxvi.

Mrs. Hardy then penned the next 228 entries.[1] Much of the material appears to be copied from earlier notes. The entries were probably made at regular intervals, taken it seems from previous notes in pocket books and notebooks or on loose sheets of paper. The "Literary Notes," then, were a special selection or edition of Hardy's copious notations. It is often impossible to determine the date of Hardy's notes and the order of his reading. Topically, the notes appear at random, although they tend to appear in clusters of related material having to do with Hardy's characteristic interests. They occasionally show a certain taste for the macabre, the bizarre, and the incongruous. Occasionally a short section is headed. One, for example, is headed "Notes on Philosophy," which literally applies to the ten following pages, after which Hardy resumes his literary notes without bothering to reintroduce them with a heading. The usual form of the entries is, first, an indented rubric, normally underlined and written in a larger hand than the rest of the entry that follows.[2] Headings are not disjoint from entries but are an accentuated form of the first few words. Most notes are short, generally not longer than a sentence or two. Some are followed by page numbers. The entries are separated by generous spaces and sometimes further by horizontal strokes.

The notes consist of quotations, summaries, commentaries and different mixtures of these (summaries and comments in particular overlap). They include both of the kinds of material described by Hardy in his essay "The Profitable Reading of Fiction" (1888)--the "accidents and appendages of narrative," such as "trifles of useful knowledge, statistics, queer historical fact,"[1] and the more essential elements of literature that offer "intellectual and moral profit to active and undulled spirits."[2] They show traces that Hardy read over and annotated them. The notes are reflected in, and at times directly appropriated into, Hardy's writings, as seen in his manuscripts, magazine publications and various editions (especially the Wessex editions) of his novels and short stories.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. xxxii.

[2] The "1867" notebook contains an additional reference aid, an index, but it is not in Hardy's hand (ibid., p. xxxi).

A large number of Hardy's entries, especially a group clustered near the front of the notes, represent "trifles of useful knowledge." Their use in Hardy's novels could often be quite straightforward. An entry about the dodo,[4] for example, was incorporated into a passage describing Diggory Venn in The Return of the Native:[5]

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[1] Ibid., p. xx, citing Harold Orel, ed., Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings (London, 1967; originally published in Lawrence, Kansas, 1966), pp. 112-13.

[2] Ibid., citing Orel, p. 113.

[3] Björk's "Notes" on the notebooks trace sources of quotations as far as possible and describe the influence of the literary notes on Hardy's writing. Parallels with and appropriations from the notes are carefully described.

[4] The examples cited here are offered in Björk's "Critical Introduction," pp. xx-xxi. The references given here are Björk's.

[5] This is the best of Hardy's novels for illustrating appropriations from Hardy's notes, since it contains some twenty

> NOTEBOOK ENTRY: *Link* between extinct animals & those present *now*--The Dodo, last seen in the 17th cent.[1]
>
> PASSAGE IN FICTION: He was one of a class rapidly becoming extinct in Wessex, filling at present in the rural world the place which, during the last century, the dodo occupied in the world of animals.[2]

Another entry was handily used in the same novel to provide a metaphor:

> NOTEBOOK ENTRY: *Miraculous animation*. It is said that Albertus Magnus & Tho.^{s} Aquinas between them animated a brass statue, wh. chattered and was their servant.[3]
>
> PASSAGE IN FICTION: The little slave went on feeding the fire as before. He seemed a mere automaton, galvanized into moving and speaking by the wayward Eustacia's will. He might have been the brass statue which Albertus Magnus is said to have animated just so far as to make it chatter, and move, and be his servant.[4]

Such fairly superficial uses are easily detected but the more general intellectual or artistic influences of the notes about philosophical topics are more difficult to trace.[5] They show a wide ideological span, and they reveal at least "a general but profound ideological accord with Hardy's writing."[6] It is usually difficult to establish Hardy's fictional use of these entries, but Björk cites at least one instance:

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explicit uses of notes, more than any other Hardy novel. Ibid., p. xxi.

[1] Entry 604.

[2] Björk, p. xxi, citing *The Return of the Native*, Wessex edition, p. 9.

[3] Entry 611. [4] Björk, p. xxi, citing *Return*, pp. 66-67.

[5] Ibid., p. xxiv.

[6] Writers represented in especially great abundance include Arnold, Carlyle, Compte, and Fourier.

> *Jude the Obscure* offers a good example. During Jude's first night in Christminster he imagines that he hears the voice of [Cardinal] Newman and a few sentences from the *Apologia*--also quoted in entry 11: '"My argument was . . . that absolute certitude as to the truths of natural theology was the result of an assemblage of concurring and converging probabilities . . . that probabilities that did not reach to logical certainty might create a mental certitude'" (*Jude*, p. 95). Newman plays an important role in Jude's early career and is a prominent stimulus in that complex of dreams epitomized by Christminster, which, in fact, derives part of its charm for Jude by its association with Newman (*Jude*, p. 120). It is appropriate, therefore, that when Jude finally rejects Christminster and her theology, and thus no longer enjoys the 'mental certitude' that Newman offered him in his less rational youth, he should throw Newman's books into the bonfire of his theological works (*Jude*, p. 262).[1]

Björk writes: "The implicit influence of the ideological notes is at once larger and more elusive of identification than that of the more factual notes" and discusses the probable influences of Matthew Arnold, Fourier and others upon Hardy.

The significance of Hardy's "Literary Notes" for him was twofold. First, they supplied him with interesting illustrative material for his novels. Second, and more importantly, Hardy was able, with their assistance, to familiarize himself with contemporary thought through a self-directed course of study and to successfully change his reputation, winning for himself a more satisfying stature among the novelists of his day.

The Pocket Notebooks of Thomas Wolfe[1]

In drafting his application for a Guggenheim Fellowship,

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[1] Björk, p. xxiv.

[2] Thomas Wolfe, 1900-1938. Sources: Wolfe. The flyleaves are decorated with facsimiles of notebook pages. This

Thomas Wolfe explained the change he experienced as a writer when he began keeping notebooks:

> I was quite unhappy about my writing--nothing I did ever saw the light of day: I wrote at random, but all the time; I wrote on loose sheets of paper, and lost, or got hopelessly confused what I had written. When I had finished something, a powerful inertia settled upon me--I would not show what I had written to anyone. I would not send it out for publication, I did not know what to do, or how to go about it. I mention the loose sheets on which I wrote because one of the most important events in my life as a writer came when I began to write, at the suggestion of a friend, in big bound ledgers. The discovery gave me joy and hope: I could no longer lose the pages, because they were bound together.[1]

The story behind this account is that at the age of twenty-six Wolfe made outlines for an autobiographical sketch on two writing tablets. When he finally began to write the narrative itself, he used large accounting ledgers bought for him by his mistress, Aline Bernstein.[2]

At this same time, he also began carrying pocket notebooks. The inspiration for this, no doubt, had its origin in a seminar at Harvard six years previously under John Livingston Lowes, who was completing his work on Coleridge's "Gutch Memorandum Book."[3] The pocket notebooks were to become his most impor-

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edition is designed for the general reader, but it reproduces about nine-tenths of the original notebooks (p. viii). Since pagination is continuous through the two volumes, references will not include volume numbers.

[1] Wolfe, p. xv.

[2] Ibid. Compare the experience of Anne Frank, who wrote in a diary given to her for her birthday, and that of Joan Didion, who began a notebook at five years of age, "My first notebook was a Big Five tablet, given to me by mother [sic] with the . . . suggestion that I . . . . learn to amuse myself by writing down my thoughts" (Didion, p. 27).

[3] Ibid. Wolfe also admired the notebooks of Henry James.

tant memorandum books; during the next twelve years, until his death at age thirty-eight, Wolfe intermittently carried a total of thirty-five of them.[1]

The notebooks are not always easy to read. Like Coleridge, Emerson, and Twain, Wolfe made notations under all kinds of circumstances. He wrote while riding on buses, subways and trains, in bed, and when "deep in his cups."[2] To make matters worse, Wolfe often scribbled in furious haste, and some of the writing has become "faint with the wear of too much handling of a page"; often, "the penciled pages [are] smudged from rubbing together in Wolfe's pocket."[3] Furthermore, Wolfe was a very unsystematic person and wrote according to whim. This description of one of his notebooks could characterize a large number of them:

> The arrangement of this notebook is chaotic. Wolfe began the same day at both ends and evidently proceeded to write wherever the notebook fell open. Consecutive passages are sometimes upside-down in relation to each other, adjacent entries are written in different cities, and creative passages and blank spaces are interspersed.[4]

The notebooks of Thomas Wolfe are:

> the informal records of a literary career, mixed in with the jottings of a man talking to himself and frequently

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It is interesting to see how writers have influenced one another to keep notebooks. The cases of Coleridge/Hopkins and Emerson/Thoreau have been noted. F. Scott Fitzgerald arranged his notes in imitation of Samuel Butler's Notebook (see F. Scott Fitzgerald, The Crack-up [New York: J. Laughlin, 1956]), Maugham was inspired by Renard's journal to keep a diary (William Somerset Maugham, A Writer's Notebook [Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970], p. xiv), and Woodrow Wilson started a diary because he admired that of Samuel Pepys (Wilson, Papers, 1:165).

[1] Wolfe, p. vi. [2] Ibid., p. viii. [3] Ibid., p. ix.

[4] Ibid., p. 821.

> interspersed with evidences of daily living. To be specific, the notebooks are a jumble (in the way that life is a jumble and that the human memory is a jumble) of literary ideas, outlines of literary projects, character sketches, first drafts of passages that later turn up in published work, observations jotted down while traveling, diary passages, first drafts of letters (some of which he never mailed), opinions on social questions (politics, religion, race, etc.), meditations and generalizations about his own life and about human behavior, opinions on contemporary literary figures, notes on books that he read, records of dreams, records of conversations overheard in restaurants or bars, notes on telephone conversations, lists (of mountains seen, rivers crossed, states and countries visited, women he slept with, books read, restaurants dined in, people met), jottings in which he is using his notebook as a way of arguing with himself, lists of books to buy, grocery lists, laundry lists, telephone numbers, American Express check numbers, assignments for his New York University students, and so on.[1]

This sounds like a confusing flurry of items, but for the reader who has the transcript to enjoy, the notebooks make surprisingly good sense. What immediately catches the eye in leafing through them are the masses of tabular material. Wolfe was fond of list-making; rather strangely fond of it, to tell the truth. In fact, his notebooks show an unusual obsession with statistically recording and categorizing his experience.[2] A sketch by Wolfe called "The Feeling of Power" includes a passage which, one supposes, Wolfe would like to have been able to write about himself. The protagonist is summarizing his life:

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[1] Ibid., p. xvi.

[2] Wolfe's note-taking habits are an extreme case that invites psychological comment. His record keeping was surely an outgrowth of idiosyncratic personality characteristics, but less eccentric note-keepers probably also are affected by some of the internal causal factors that made Wolfe such an omnivorous notemaker. Some variables of obvious relevance to the keeping of notebooks are intellectual and creative abilities, motivational dispositions and needs (especially "obsessive-compulsive" states), expressive and stylistic habits, and interests, values, and social attitudes. Certain "nondynamic aspects of personality" may predispose one to habits of record keeping (see George A. Miller, et al., Plans and the Structure of Behavior [New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960], chapter 9, p. 121). Joan Didion (p. 27) mentions the compulsive

> In addition I have enjoyed over 900 bottles of good wine, and the bodies of over 100 women, more than 20 of whom have given themselves to me without charge.
>
> In addition I have read, since my fifth year, I have read [sic] parts in about 50,000 books and plays, and about 15,000 in entirety.[1]

The preeminent purpose of Wolfe's notebooks was to aid him in writing. At times he admonished himself in them to work harder. One diary entry says "Go upstairs and write! write! write!"[2] Periodically, Wolfe reevaluated himself and the state of his knowledge:

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roots of her note-making, and David Shapiro (Neurotic Styles [New York: Basic, 1965], p. 31) mentions a case of obsessive-compulsive listing. (See also Naomi R. Bluestone, "The Compulsive List-maker," Readers' Digest 109 [September 1976]: 120-22.) Wolfe showed an intensified cluster of drives associated with one of six classes of "psychogenic needs," a genus of needs that is stereotypically associated with librarians and curators:

"A. Needs associated chiefly with inanimate objects
  1. Acquisition: the need to gain possessions and property.
  2. Conservation: the need to collect, repair, clean, and preserve things.
  3. Orderliness: the need to arrange, organize, put away objects, to be tidy and clean; to be precise.
  4. Retention: the need to retain possession of things; to hoard; to be frugal, economical, and miserly.
  5. Construction: the need to organize and build."

(Hilgard, et al., p. 316, citing H. A. Murray, et al., "A List of Psychogenic Needs," Table based on Murray, et al., Explorations in Personality [New York: Oxford University Press, 1938]). "Pack-rats" and "string savers" are familiar personality types (Emerson, Prescott, Woodrow Wilson and Adlai Stevenson all hoarded papers to some extent).

[1] Wolfe, p. 306.

[2] Ibid., p. 63. Notes of self-encouragement and reproach are common in the notebooks of authors, especially in early ones.

An Inquiry Into the State of My Culture:
I know a good deal about
Amer. Lit.
Eng. Lit.
The Theatre.
I know considerable about
French Lit.
German Lit.
I know some of the Best of
Latin Lit.
Greek Lit. . . .[1]

But the most basic function of the notebooks for Wolfe was garnering impressions for future use.

> Wolfe had gradually begun to look upon his note-taking as his own kind of research method. Some of it reflects research in books, documents, records, some of it is deep-sea diving into his memory, and some of it is field research (observations of human behavior that he meets in his travels, records of conversations he had with various people, and so on).[2] . . . One night on a subway going to Brooklyn at 3 A.M., he describes all the passengers. Another time he records all the people who came into a diner while he was there. Frequently he will list all the shops and places of business along a street or all the people he passes on the way from his apartment to the subway.[3]

Wolfe also recorded snatches of conversations overheard, some-

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Samuel Johnson's diaries are filled with notes of self-admonition and encouragement (James Boswell, *The Life of Johnson* [Chicago: Great Books, 1952], p. 16); young *Emerson at Harvard* wrote: "I find myself often idle, vagrant, stupid, and hollow. This is somewhat appalling, and, if I do not discipline myself with diligent care, I shall suffer severely from remorse and the sense of inferiority hereafter. All around me are industrious and shall be great. I am indolent and shall be insignificant. Avert it, Heaven! Avert it, virtue! I need excitement." (Emerson, *Heart*, p. 8); Baudelaire's diary is full of resolves to work and ideas for projects; in his *Intimate Notebooks*, Flaubert wrote, "I just read over this notebook and pitied myself" and a little later on he laments how he *might* have been a genius, he might have made a name for himself (pp. 100ff); Henry James, who frequently decried his laziness and lack of concentration, coached himself, "Try everything, do everything, render everything--be an artist, be distinguished to the last" (James, p. x).

[1] Wolfe, p. xx. [2] Ibid., p. xx.

[3] Ibid., p. xxi.

times not recording the gist, but only the way words and phrases were used.

Of special interest here are Wolfe's records about books he read and saw. Wolfe had a compulsive fascination with books. On his travels, he spent hours combing through bookshops and scanning display windows, jotting down German, French and English titles and authors to the point of exhaustion. He was obsessed with salvaging everything possible from the "terrible vomit of print that covers the earth."[1] In one entry Wolfe asks himself:

> If all the different editions and volumes of the works in a great German library were counted up, how many would they number?

and follows the question with five lists of books in paragraph form, as if trying to actually answer it.[2] He begins a list: "In the big bookstore: I bought: . . . ," and begins itemizing the books, only to break off the tally in a sort of Te Librum, "Books, Books, Books" (shades of "Holy, Holy, Holy"), then goes right on with the list.[3] He sums up a day in his life with the sentence "Monday night: Accomplished very little today and bought no books."[4]

The lists of books and book-related material appear along with lists of errands, possible titles for Wolfe's writings, lists of cities he had visited and planned to visit (one list itemizes all the times Wolfe had gone to and from Paris),[5] names of people he knew in various cities, agendas for the day, and summaries of events in his life ("What I Did Today").[1] In a letter to Aline Bernstein, Wolfe wrote:

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[1] Ibid., p. 207. [2] Ibid., pp. 261-62. [3] Ibid., p. 282.

[4] Ibid., p. 260. [5] Ibid., p. 83.

> I lost my little fat notebook which I carry everywhere with me.--Went to . . . the Police Station . . . Found the sergeant reading it with a bewildered face.--he treated me with all the courtesy one extends to the insane.[2]

The notebooks show how constantly and insatiably Wolfe shuffled, sifted, combed through and dabbled in the materials of his culture. In the art galleries of Europe he makes long tabulations of paintings and sculptures he has seen.[3] In Germany he itemizes the contents of "A Typical German Newspaper,"[4] in Vienna he lists "Books I Can Remember,"[5] even in his lover's home he catalogs "Aline's Books."[6]

Since Wolfe intended his notebooks to solidify his knowledge, not primarily to serve as a source of material for quotation,[7] notes on the books he read were paraphrastic in nature and frequently included Wolfe's own comments. But such entries occur less often than bare lists of titles and authors, with headings such as "Books,"[8] "Novels,"[9] "Books I Want,"[10] "Books To Be Bought,"[11] "12 Books to Take Out Of France" (including "A Dirty Book"),[12] and "In Germany and Austria Today"

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[1] Ibid., p. 828. [2] Ibid., p. 71. [3] Ibid., pp. 85-86, 89.

[4] Ibid., p. 220. [5] Ibid., p. 445. [6] Ibid.

[7] Several times he did tear out pages of notes for Of Time and the River, to represent the literary opinions of Eugene Gant (ibid., pp. 112ff, 142ff, 214ff). Mark Twain (Notebooks, 1:8) did much the same thing; he used quotation from his notebooks as a literary device (many of these "quotations' are spurious, of course).

[8] Wolfe, p. 346. [9] Ibid., p. 220. [10] Ibid., pp. 142-43.

[11] Ibid., p. 215. [12] Ibid., p. 446.

(a list of contemporary authors).[1] Wolfe constantly juggles works in his critical opinion--"A Library For a Young Man of Today,"[2] "Foolish and Un-Foolish Titles,"[3] "Good Titles"[4]--and records the opinions of others--"'Half Dozen Best Critics' According to Various Writers,"[5] "Authors Well-Known in Their Own Country--But Not Specially Disseminated,"[6] "The World Figures."[7]

Thomas Wolfe soothed his restless concern for multiplicity by tabulating self-consciously his activities, achievements, knowledge, and memories. He apparently used lists to reaffirm and redefine his literary identity. That this is true is supported by the fact that the notes on books tend to cluster within the years 1920-29, years when Wolfe was attempting to establish a foothold in literature. Later, when his position as an author became more secure, Wolfe had no need for cultural props and the lists of books stopped. Wolfe continued until his death, however, to cut his experience along various planes and to examine the results in his notebooks.

> Here then, picked out at random from the ferment of ten thousand pages, and a million words--put down just as they were written, in fragments, jots, or splintered flashes, without order or coherence--here with all its vanity, faith, despair, joy, and anguish, with all its falseness, error, and pretension, and with all its desperate sincerity, its incredible hope, its insane desire, is a picture of a man's soul and heart--the image of his infuriate desire--caught hot and instant, drawn flaming from the forge of his soul's agony.[8]

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[1] Ibid., p. 209. [2] Ibid., p. 236. [3] Ibid., p. 220.

[4] Ibid., p. 323. [5] Ibid., p. 361. [6] Ibid., p. 230.

[7] Ibid., p. 247.

[8] Ibid., epigraph, quoting Of Time and the River.

CHAPTER III

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

> Of Gathering Notes.
>
> Young Students many times neglect gathering of Notes out of bookes they read, either because their memorie is good enough to retain them without noting, or else bec: they are sloathfull, & will take no pains.
>
> Let such as trust too much to theyr memories know that however for the present the things seem so fresh in their memories that they think they can not forgett them, yet they will finde y^{e} process of time and other studies will so wipe them out that they shall remember very little in a whole book, unless they have memorial notes to run over now and then.
>
> And besides though this noting were of no use to the memorie, yet it hath another advantage which allone would make it worthy in the mean while & that is it helps you to the fuller, & clearer understanding of what you read, while you endeavor to abreviate and contract the sence, & makes you take notice of many things w^{ch}: otherwise you would have passed over.
>
> They that neglect it out of Idelnes should consider that one booke read with Notes for the reasons aledg brings a better stock of Learning, when if in the same time they should have read three without, because either you will not read them so exactly or not remember them long: whereas by Noting you make it intirely your own for ever after.
>
> Again this Gathering of Notes will keep y^{o} from growing dull & listless in y^{r} studies, as one often shall that only reads.
>
> Richard Holdsworth[1]

Each of the foregoing case studies describes the notes of some literary author who found it useful, for one reason or another, to make records of his reading. Since these examples provide only a small amount of data, it would hardly be justified to draw generalizations about all writers merely on the basis of what they can show. Therefore the following remarks should be interpreted as only a starting point towards understanding the role of reading notes in the work of literary authors.

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[1] Fletcher, p. 650 (Holdsworth, p. 49).

Reading notes represent one of a number of products of literary journalizing whose use by writers is attested frequently and unpredictably by such means as the publication of authors' notebooks and by statements in biographical accounts. It would be helpful if some standard source such as the Dictionary of American Biography or the Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature happened to mention the notebooks of literary authors on a regular basis, but no such source provides this kind of information. It is not certain that authors as a class find reading notes any more useful, or that they make them any more commonly, than those in other fields of work.

Why Reading Notes are Made

What prompts the keeping of reading notes? The question is hard to answer because of the pervasiveness of note-making practices throughout society. Rarely can it be said with surety that any single event or experience was all-important in informing an individual about and motivating him to keep reading notes in a more or less regular way. In the cases just presented, note-making experiences at school were of obvious importance in acclimating individuals to specific note-making techniques. Bacon, Milton, Emerson and Thoreau were all trained in the commonplace tradition and in the case of Coleridge such training can be inferred from the fact that he sometimes referred to his notebooks as "commonplace books." Hardy also showed signs of being acquainted with commonplacing as a study method by keeping what was essentially a commonplace book without regular headings. School introduces individuals to the experience of taking reading notes by providing problems (in the form of assigned papers, etc.) whose solution requires preparing such records. In the cases discussed in chapter 2, the practice of note-making persisted as an important personal practice after formal schooling ceased. Most abandoned academic requirements of form in favor of less troublesome techniques, but Milton continued to record his notes as he had done in school.

While school is an important socializing influence for training in note-making, the appropriation of such practices as personally useful in one's work seems often to come when one's motivation to make notes is aroused by experiences and demands of greater personal moment than many academic experiences are. The eight case studies show how frequently authors are inspired to begin or resume the keeping of notebooks by learning of an admired friend or another author who keeps and uses them. The clearest instance here is the influence of Emerson on Thoreau, but this is not to mention the probable influences of Bacon on Milton and of Coleridge on Wolfe (and on Hopkins, who was mentioned peripherally). Coleridge was probably also moved to begin his first pocketbook by the force of some example not yet publically known; he was a friend of Robert Southey and of Percy Bysshe Shelley, both of whom kept notebooks. Likewise Matthew Arnold, another note keeper, may have influenced Hardy by his example. In fact, the way that literary journalizing is motivated in individuals is probably quite similar to the way that individuals come to perceive authorship itself as an activity that is possible and desirable for them personally. Authorship by its very nature involves some kinds of "record keeping"; a writer must be the custodian of his personal manuscripts. (The unusual case of Thomas Wolfe shows the connection that can exist between personal record keeping and authorship. Not until Wolfe learned to save his manuscripts in coherent form by writing in ledger books was he able to produce satisfactory works of literature.)

The Form of Reading Notes

This brings the discussion to a consideration of the forms in which reading notes are made. The first point to mention here is the value of the codex format as an organizing frame for one's work and records. A blankbook in codex form offers the power of speedy reference to material kept in it, as well as a fixedness of order that prevents material from becoming inadvertently rearranged and lost. The case of Thomas Wolfe, again, shows how crucial to creative effort it can be to maintain control over the location and configuration of one's written work. It is interesting that Emerson began his first "notebooks" on loose sheets of paper that were later sewn together with thread (probably by his mother);[1] Coleridge also used homemade notebooks. It is common to read of other persons living in this same time period (such as Thomas Jefferson) who had the loose pages of their manuscripts bound by a printer into book form.

Within the constraints of the codex format, the form that reading notes take depends on the preferred working methods of the keeper. The cases seen here have included such kinds as simple lists of titles (Emerson, Wolfe, and, in places, Milton), extracts and verbatim quotations (in every case), paraphrases, outlines and summaries (Milton, Emerson, Thoreau and Twain), and original commentaries on what has been read (all but Bacon).

The Use and Value of Reading Notes

The uses made of reading notes are as numerous as their forms. In these case studies they served as aids to concentration and recollection (in all cases), as garners of material to be used later in writing (in all cases, though to different degrees), as workbooks for the study of ideas or style (Bacon, Milton, and Hardy in an obvious way but probably to some extent in every case), as albums of literary gleanings for future entertainment (most obviously for Emerson, Thoreau, Coleridge, and Twain but probably in the rest of the cases as well), and even as devices for recreating subjective emotional experiences brought on by reading (again, probably in every case, but most obviously for Coleridge and Thoreau). The value attached to these notes by their keepers is attested by the fact that all but one of the individuals studied used their notebooks over a number of decades, often from youth to old age. The exception is Francis Bacon, but since it is certain that his Promus was only one of a number of notebooks kept by him, he does not really break the pattern.

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[1] Emerson, Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks, 1:xxxiv.

The Significance of Reading Notes for Literary Authors

The keeping of notebooks by authors may be viewed as a cluster of adaptive behaviors which some of them appropriate to gain a firmer hold on the materials with which they work. Since words, phrases, passages and the ideas conveyed by them are an author's stock-in trade, it is natural that authors should pay special attention to the writings of others; and reading notes reflect the extraordinary application of some of them to what they read.

Yet there is another level at which these materials may have significance. In some cases, the mere identity of reading notes as literature-related records seems to elevate them to a special status in the minds of their keepers. Literary journalizing and the keeping of notebooks is a sort of tradition among litterateurs (as Virginia Woolf assumes in the epigraph to chapter 1). Apart from their obvious value as records, therefore, literary notebooks may hold symbolic value for their keepers, heightening their personal identification with the tradition of literature. It is interesting, in fact, to note the extent to which authors can treat their notebooks as quasi-works. They can assign special titles to them, sometimes elaborate ones (recall the titles used by Bacon, Emerson, and Hardy).[1] They may compile them in neat form from rough notes, and even recopy and reedit them (recall the cases of Thoreau, Hardy, and Samuel Butler). They can also preserve them with a special care and devotion that seems out of proportion to their apparent function as working materials (recall Emerson's carefully-kept shelves of notebooks; and Thoreau's wooden journal-case). Notebooks may serve as placeholders in the author's mind until finished works eclipse them in importance (Emerson's notebooks were obviously a source of self-validation for him during his undistinguished undergraduate years). The significance of the reading notes of authors, then, may not only lie in their mechanical function as information storage devices which provide raw materials for the work of writing, but also in their ability to concentrate and to mobilize the latent emotional and creative resources of their keepers.

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[1] Compare also Gibbon's Ephemerides.

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